

# THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

California 'anticrime' referenda . . . . .	9
Atlanta unionists sue Lockheed . . . . .	10
Women miners fight discrimination . . . . .	12

VOL. 46/NO. 41 NOVEMBER 5, 1982 75 CENTS

## W. Va. grand jury rejects antisocialist indictments



West Virginia socialist candidates Adrienne Benjamin, for Congress, and Bill Hovland, for U.S. Senate, hailed victory for democratic rights.

BY CHRIS HORNER

CHARLESTON, W. Va. — On October 27, the Jackson County Grand Jury put a stop to the most recent attack by West Virginians against both the Socialist Workers candidates and those who signed their nominating petitions.

The Grand Jury, convened by Jackson County prosecutor Samuel Snyder, at the request of Secretary of State A. James Manchin, refused to return indictments against 30 county residents who had signed the nominating petitions for the socialist candidates and also voted in the primary elections.

In West Virginia, an unconstitutional law makes this a "crime" punishable by one year in jail and a \$1,000 fine. Seventeen thousand West Virginians had signed petitions to put two socialist coal miners on the November ballot. Bill Hovland, running for U.S. Senate, and Adrienne Benjamin, for U.S. Congress in the 3rd District. Both are members of the United Mine Workers of America.

This action by state officials is only the most recent in a long series of acts of intimidation and harassment aimed at the socialist campaign.

The convening of the Grand Jury to seek indictments against petition signers was a blatant attempt to create an atmosphere of fear. Its timing, exactly one week before election day, was clearly not accidental.

Hovland and Benjamin scored it as an "unprecedented and dangerous attack on the First Amendment rights of West Virginia citizens." In their public statement, they said that the action was an attempt to win by other means what the state had failed to win in open battle with the socialists in the months leading up to the election.

This battle involved a public slander campaign by Manchin, a Democrat, who called the socialist petitioners "unethical and misleading." Other attacks included repeated acts of vandalism against the Hovland-Benjamin campaign headquarters in Charleston, and a concerted campaign of intimidation against socialist campaign supporters by city and state police, including threats of arrest. At each step, the socialists and their supporters met these attacks and turned them back.

Continued on Page 2

## Chrysler workers to resume contract fight in January

BY GEORGE JOHNSON

Chrysler workers voted overwhelmingly October 26 not to strike the corporation starting November 1, but, instead, to suspend negotiations for a new contract until after the Christmas holidays.

Two weeks earlier, Chrysler workers rejected, by a seven-to-three ratio, a proposed contract between the corporation and the union's Chrysler bargaining council.

The old contract had expired September 15.

The rejection of the proposed contract, which was unprecedented, was a blow to the employers' drive to get workers to keep accepting the framework of collaborating with the companies.

The vote — 27,335 to 11,873 — not to strike November 1 doesn't show anything new or different about the reasons why the union membership turned down the company's offer two weeks earlier. The members felt the contract did not compensate them for three years of concessions, worth \$1.07 billion, that they had made to Chrysler and which had left them \$2.68 an hour behind workers at General Motors and Ford.

Nor was there any "up-front" money. Any wage raises, the first in two years, would have to be tied to company profits. Further, the company's offer included more stringent work rules. And this was on top of three years of intensified speedup, forced overtime, and deterioration of working conditions.

Also behind the rejection was a realization that concessions hadn't saved jobs at Chrysler, and, in varying degrees, that workers shouldn't have to pay for the employers' economic crisis.

The rejection was also a blow to the United Auto Workers officialdom, led by President Douglas Fraser, which had campaigned to convince Chrysler workers to ratify the proposed contract.

Fraser, who got a place on Chrysler's board of directors three years ago as part of giving the auto maker a helping hand in solving its problems, tried to convince Chrysler workers that the corporation couldn't afford to give them a raise. This was despite its second-quarter profits of

\$107 million and its \$1 billion cash and short-term securities reserves.

A strike, Fraser said, echoing the employers, was the only alternative to ratification of the contract, and a strike would mean bankruptcy.

When Chrysler workers disregarded this threat and overwhelmingly rejected the proposal, the company announced that it would not make any concessions. The UAW officials then organized a strike vote.

But this was different from most votes to authorize strikes; this one was designed to get a *rejection* of a strike, thus giving the union officialdom a seeming vote of confidence, after the blow it took two weeks earlier.

Continued on Page 2

## U.S. tightens noose on Nicaragua

BY FRED MURPHY

Behind a diplomatic smokescreen designed to portray one of its main victims — Nicaragua — as the criminal, Washington is stepping up its war in Central America.

The U.S. imperialists are intervening militarily to try to halt and reverse the upsurge of anti-imperialist struggle that is sweeping the region. They cannot stand aside and allow the consolidation of the socialist revolution in Nicaragua. Nor can they allow the Salvadoran and Guatemalan peoples to succeed in their fight to bring workers and farmers governments to power in those countries, in emulation of the revolution in Nicaragua.

It is this open clash over who will rule — the workers and peasants, or the capitalists and landlords tied to imperialism — that is at the root of the mounting warfare across Central America.

• In Nicaragua, battles take place almost daily between the Sandinista People's Army and militia and the U.S.-armed bands of counterrevolutionaries sheltered by the regime in neighboring Honduras. Washington plans a major new provocation for December, when military maneuvers of unprecedented scope will be held by the

U.S. and Honduran armies along the Nicaraguan border.

• In El Salvador, despite government claims that the rebels were in their "death throes," the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) has mounted one of the largest military offensives yet in three years of civil war. The regime's U.S.-trained battalions have failed to turn the tide.

• In Guatemala the presence of U.S. military advisers — still formally barred by U.S. law — has just come to light. A Green Beret captain interviewed in Guatemala by the *Washington Post* "said he is authorized to teach cadets there 'anything our army has,' and his subjects include training in ambushes, surveillance, combat arms, artillery, armor, patrolling, demolition and helicopter assault tactics" (*Washington Post*, October 21). Such tactics are being applied on a wide scale in the Rios Montt dictatorship's slaughter of Indian peasants. At least 2,600 have died since March, according to an Amnesty International report released October 11.

• Costa Rica is now the scene of another U.S.-backed military buildup.

Continued on Page 4

## S.F. labor march is biggest in 34 years

BY THABO NTWENG

SAN FRANCISCO — In the biggest labor demonstration in 34 years here, some 70,000 trade unionists marched up Market Street October 24 to rally at the civic center. The demonstration was characterized by deep concern about the economic situation facing working people.

The action was called by the AFL-CIO, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), and the Teamsters. It included contingents of auto workers, longshoremen, workers from the building trades, steelworkers, garment workers, grocery clerks, teachers, and many others. The largest contingent was the Teamsters, some of whom drove trucks and buses in the march. Judging by the number of blue union hats of the International Association of Machinists, machinists were also well represented. One of the most militant contingents was from the United Farm Workers. Near the front were workers from the Bethlehem Shipyard who are conducting a fight to save their jobs.

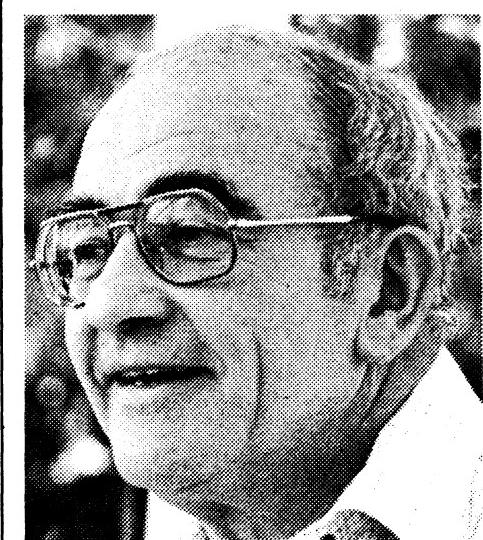
An ILWU banner reading "an injury to one is an injury to all" led off the march. Longshoremen also closed the port for a day here as part of the action.

The police estimate of 70,000 marchers far exceeded the organizers' expectations of 15,000. The huge throng included many Black and women workers as well as young workers. There was also a contingent of trade unionists opposed to intervention in Central America and one from the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists. A number of women wore Coalition of Labor Union Women T-shirts.

The theme of the march was "Jobs and Justice." And this was reflected in many of the placards. Other themes indicated by the signs workers carried included opposition to union busting and attacks on the Occupational Safety and Health Administration.

Many marchers did not stay for the rally following the parade; but the 20,000 that did responded most enthusiastically to speakers who expressed their anger over high unemployment and the bad situation workers faced. "Maybe we can show the idiots who run this country we are getting a little hostile," boilermakers union member Ben Scribner told the *San Francisco Examiner*. "This is a chance to show the government they can't push us aside," Luwanda Castro, a forklift operator and member of the ILWU told the same paper.

Continued on Page 14



Militant/Harry Ring  
Screen Actors Guild President Ed Asner, an outspoken opponent of U.S. role in El Salvador, got best response at labor rally.

# Oct. 23 demonstrations target U.S. war moves in El Salvador

BY NELSON GONZÁLEZ

On the weekend of October 23 antiwar activists continued their activities in response to the call for emergency actions opposing the U.S. war in Central America. The call was made by the World Front in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador.

In Chicago, 800 participated in a rally in Fuss Park and then marched to the Great Lakes Naval Training Center.

Speakers at the rally included Gillam Kerley, a young draft resister from Wisconsin who was recently indicted by the government for his refusal to register for the draft. Kerley explained to the crowd the connection between the draft and the U.S. war drive which is focused on El Salvador, the rest of Central America, and the Caribbean.

Others who spoke included Mike Terry, a coordinator of Milwaukee Vietnam Veterans Against the War, a representative of the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador (FDR), Mohammed Abdul Kedis, a representative of the November 29 Coalition, and Sam Day from the staff of the *Progressive* magazine.

In New York, the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) organized a walk-a-thon that began in three different parts of the city. It included a labor contingent and came together for a rally attended by nearly 500 people at Dag Hammarskjold Plaza near the United Nations.

The New York CISPES office reported

that \$10,000 dollars was raised for medical aid to El Salvador.

In Boston, the Central America Solidarity Association organized a rally of 300. Twenty-five percent of the participants were Latinos. Representatives from the International Association of Machinists in Boston, the African National Congress, FDR and the Palestine Crisis Coalition, as well as the Boston Alliance Against Registration and the Draft spoke at the rally.

A number of very successful protests were organized in several countries around the world.

In Canada, the *Socialist Voice*, newspaper of the Revolutionary Workers League reported that 700 people marched

in Toronto on October 16 in an action supported by some forty peace and solidarity groups. The themes of the march — "U.S. Out of El Salvador," "Hands off Central America and the Caribbean," and "End Canadian Complicity" — were linked to stopping the cruise missile and the U.S.-Canadian arms build-up.

In Australia picket lines were held in most major cities on October 16 and other activities were organized in support of the Salvadoran people.

In Sydney more than 100 people gathered at the U.S. Embassy to demand that the U.S. get out of El Salvador.

In Mexico a picket was held in front of the U.S. Embassy.



Militant/Lou Howorth

New York march October 23 against U.S. intervention in El Salvador was one of many actions called by international solidarity movement.

## Grand jury in West Virginia won't hand down indictments

Continued from Page 1

Hovland won ballot status after filing far more than the required number of signatures. But Manchin ruled that Benjamin had not collected "sufficient numbers of signatures" and refused to place her on the ballot. A broadly supported lawsuit, handled by the West Virginia Civil Liberties Union, was taken to the state supreme court in late September. The court ruled that Manchin must immediately put Benjamin on the ballot.

In addition, the socialist campaign has received considerable media coverage throughout the state. The candidates have spoken before numerous audiences, and have been able to explain their ideas to literally tens of thousands of working people.

Three weeks before the election, Hovland's employer, SOHIO, tried to fire him and co-worker Bill Boyd, a union activist and Hovland's campaign treasurer. They are both coal miners at Kitt No. 1 mine in Philippi, West Virginia. But these attempted firings were only one part of ongoing company attacks against their union, United Mine Workers Local 2095, especially around safety issues. The union forced the employer to back down, and won Hovland and Boyd their jobs back. This victory also received statewide publicity and was a further blow to the drive of officials to isolate socialist campaign activists.

Within minutes of the Grand Jury verdict, the AP bureau in Charleston called the campaign headquarters for a statement to put on the national wire. Benjamin explained that while Manchin's threatened prosecution had failed, the splashing of the charges all over the media has the effect of

intimidating people from supporting the socialists' campaign.

"This has a chilling effect on the constitutional rights of all working people," Benjamin pointed out. "The law Manchin is using is completely unconstitutional. Everyone should have the right to sign petitions to put workers' parties on the ballot, free from harassment. My campaign will continue to expend every effort to defend democratic rights and spread our ideas throughout West Virginia."

## Auto contract fight resumes in Jan.

Continued from Page 1

The alternatives on the ballot were to strike on November 1 or suspend negotiations until January, and so delay any decision to strike.

For Chrysler workers to have voted to strike now, they would have had to agree with both the strike's necessity and its timing — aside from having confidence in a leadership that didn't want to lead it.

"Divisive and pointless" and "demoralizing to the membership" was how the vote process was termed by Bob Weissman, president of Local 122 at Twinsburg, outside Cleveland. If the union's leaders had wanted to set a strike deadline for January, he pointed out, "they had the authority to do it."

Under the circumstances, it is not surprising that Chrysler workers would rather try to renegotiate the contract in January and try to get a better one than strike right now.

If a strike continued past Christmas,

Chrysler workers would lose a week's holiday pay.

Many workers, reports *Militant* correspondent Jon Olmsted in Detroit, are unsure a strike could be won now. One worker at the Jefferson Avenue assembly plant told him, "With things the way they are, it is no time to strike. Nobody can afford to go out."

Another, a local union president told the media, "Logic prevailed. It just wasn't the right time to pull a strike."

Even workers who favored a strike in November, such as many of those at Sterling Heights, told Olmsted they were "between a rock and a hard place."

They pointed out that some workers were being asked to put in four hours overtime, and felt Chrysler could be stockpiling cars for a strike.

Because of this, some said, it was better to strike now rather than later.

Others felt January and February are bad months for a strike "because nobody buys cars then."

### Sandinistas Speak

Speeches, writings, and interviews with leaders of Nicaragua's revolution.

By Tomás Borge, Carlos Fonseca, Daniel Ortega, Humberto Ortega, and Jaime Wheelock.

160 pp. \$4.95

### Fidel Castro on Chile

Education for Socialists

158 pp., \$5.00

### The U.S. War Drive and the World Economic Crisis

Speech by Fidel Castro to the Tenth World Trade Union Congress in February 1982.

30 pp., \$75

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include \$.75 for postage and handling.

## Read the truth — every week



### Subscribe to the *Militant*

That way you'll get facts about Washington's bipartisan wars against working people at home and abroad: from unemployment to racism; from Lebanon to Central America. Read what the Socialist Workers Party candidates are proposing in order to wage a fightback.

At the workplace and on the picketline, the *Militant* is there, reporting the news and participating in the struggle. Subscribe today.

### For new subscribers . . .

A special offer — *Mel Mason: The making of a revolutionary*. A new 40-page pamphlet. Free to every new subscriber. To get a copy, check box

Enclosed is \$3 for 12 weeks

Enclosed is \$24 for 1 year

Enclosed is \$15 for 6 months

Enclosed is a contribution

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City/State/Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Telephone \_\_\_\_\_ Union/Organization \_\_\_\_\_

Send to *Militant*, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

## The *Militant*

Closing news date:

October 27, 1982

Editors: CINDY JAQUITH

DOUG JENNESS

Business Manager:

LEE MARTINDALE

Editorial Staff: Connie Allen, Nelson González, William Gottlieb, Suzanne Haig, Arthur Hughes, Margaret Jayko, George Johnson, Frank Lovell, Harry Ring, Larry Seigle.

Published weekly except two weeks in August, the last week of December, and the first week of January by the *Militant* (ISSN 0026-3885), 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office, (212) 243-6392; Business Office, (212) 929-3486.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The *Militant* Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to The *Militant*, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Subscriptions: U.S. \$24.00 a year, outside U.S. \$30.00. By first-class mail: U.S., Canada, and Mexico: \$60.00. Write for airmail rates to all other countries.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the *Militant's* views. These are expressed in editorials.

# U.S. expands military presence in Mideast

BY MARGARET JAYKO

The Reagan administration has utilized the murderous Israeli invasion of Lebanon to further its own direct military intervention in the Middle East.

On October 21, the Pentagon announced that the Rapid Deployment Joint Task Force (RDF), which becomes operative on January 1, 1983, will now be expanded from 230,000 to almost double that number of soldiers, sailors, marines, and Air Force personnel.

The pretext for the setting up of the RDF was the entry of Soviet troops into Afghanistan in December 1980. But what former President James Carter really had in mind was countering the Iranian revolution and propping up rightist governments like the one in Lebanon today.

According to the Pentagon: "[The RDF's] principle objectives are to assure continued access to Persian Gulf oil. . . . Whatever the circumstances, we should be prepared to introduce American forces directly into the region [the Persian Gulf and southwest Asia] should it appear that the security of access to Persian Gulf oil is threatened."

## Roving vigilantes

The 20 countries of Asia and Africa that are the stated targets of this roving imperialist vigilante group are not the only ones that might be "assisted" by it. The fact that it's based in Tampa, Florida — a stone's throw from the Caribbean and Central American countries where the biggest challenges to U.S. domination by the oppressed toilers are taking place — gives a clue to other places the RDF might be sent.

Despite talk of "resisting aggression" from the Soviet Union, Iran, and South Yemen, the official Arabic translation of "Rapid Deployment Force" is more in keeping with its real role — "rapid intervention force."

According to the *New York Times* the RDF's responsibilities include "strengthening friendly nations politically and militarily."

Among its "contingency plans" are sending marines to rescue governments that are threatened by popular rebellions; "providing them the weapons they need to insure their own security and training their personnel to operate and maintain those weapons."

The RDF has already run into resistance in the Middle East. No regime wants to bring the wrath of its population or that of other semicolonial countries down on its head by offering their country as a forward headquarters for the strike force.

Finding bases and areas willing to be used for mock invasions are harder and harder to come by, especially since the worldwide outcry over the U.S. backing for Israel's slaughter in Lebanon.

## Imperialist troops in Sinai

Actually, the U.S. already has troops stationed in the Middle East.

Before the Israelis invaded Lebanon, the United States, along with Australia, Britain, France, Italy, the Netherlands, and New Zealand sent a 2,500-strong military force to the Sinai desert. That was on March 17, 1982.

The Sinai is part of the Arab territory, which Israel invaded and has occupied since 1967. The stated purpose of the force was to monitor the withdrawal of Israeli troops from this occupied territory by April 26.

Today, the 2,500 troops are still in the Sinai.

The force in the Sinai helped pave the way for Israel's occupation of Lebanon by securing Israel's southern border; thus helping free its forces for further aggression against countries like Lebanon, as well as providing the U.S. with its first direct military presence in the Middle East.

## U.S. Marines in Lebanon

These facts make Reagan's promise that the 1,200 U.S. Marines currently stationed at Lebanon's Beirut airport and the 600 aboard nearby ships will leave Lebanon by the end of the year ring a little hollow.

Especially now that Lebanese President Amin Gemayel told Reagan, French President François Mitterrand, and Italian President Sandro Pertini that he favors expand-

ing the multinational force of the three countries from 3,800 troops to "about 30,000 troops," as well as expanding their "responsibilities."

All three have responded favorably to Gemayel's requests.

What are the "expanded responsibilities" that Gemayel and Reagan have in mind?

The stated purpose of the force is to stay in Lebanon until the Palestinian, Syrian, and Israeli forces have all left.

But the Israelis have given every indication that they don't plan on leaving soon. In fact, they could become a permanent occupation force in southern Lebanon.

That would explain the winter uniforms that are being issued to Israeli troops, the prefab homes that are being shipped to the front lines, the mountain roads that are being paved, and the snow plows that are being procured.

In a move to prevent Israel from continuing to use the presence of the Palestinian guerrillas in Lebanon as an excuse for keeping Israeli troops there, Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) chairman Yasir Arafat sent a letter to Gemayel stating that PLO fighters would not present a barrier to the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon.

Gemayel is explaining rather badly what he wants the troops for: to rebuild the Lebanese Army as part of an overall plan to prop up the reactionary Christian minority regime that he heads. He wants the troops to help him police the workers and peasants, the Muslims and Palestinians, in Lebanon.

U.S. officials, in turn, say that U.S. assistance to Lebanon will center on helping the Lebanese to build a well-armed police force to take care of "internal security" rather than "external threats."

## Round-up of 'illegal aliens'

The "peacekeeping force" has already begun to do its job.

It directly facilitated the round-ups the Gemayel regime carried out in predominantly Muslim West Beirut.

With a massive display of tanks, personnel carriers, and troops, the Lebanese Army moved into the western part of the city in early October and carried out two weeks of brutal house-to-house searches, allegedly looking for guns, "illegal aliens," and "criminals."

Just before the U.S. Marines were sent in, an unnamed U.S. government official told the *New York Times* that the marines would "man borders and major road crossings so that the Lebanese Army won't have to worry about their flanks while they get on with their job of disarming various factions, finding arms caches, and so forth."

The biggest arms caches are not in West Beirut, but in predominantly Christian East Beirut, where whole rightist militias roam the streets. Despite weeks of promising that the Lebanese Army would disarm these gangs, the Phalangist government has done nothing to disturb the Phalangists in East Beirut.

A total of 1,441 Palestinians and Lebanese Muslims were arrested during the round-up, many of whom are still being held. Palestinian officials have accused the Lebanese government of mistreating the prisoners.

Gemayel's goal is a simple one — expel the hundreds of thousands of Palestinians who have been forced out of their homeland.

## Repression against majority

Hand in hand with the attacks on the Palestinians goes brutal efforts by the Gemayel government to repress the Lebanese Muslim majority.

At least five people were killed and 22 injured in early October when Lebanese troops fired directly into a crowd of Shiite Muslim squatters that were protesting the demolition of their homes and an unfinished mosque.

The excuse the Lebanese government is using for its systematic destruction of Muslim homes and shops is that they were built "illegally." Furthermore, they are said to be unsafe because they are in the flight path of planes going in and out of Beirut's airport. These people fled their homes during and after the 1975-76 Lebanese civil war.

The desire of both the Israeli and the



U.S. Rapid Deployment Force carrying out joint military maneuvers, dubbed "Bright Star" with Egypt in 1981. Arab regimes are increasingly reluctant to participate with U.S. in such "war games."

Lebanese governments to get rid of the Palestinians is also behind the current disputes over who — if anybody — will house the tens of thousands of Palestinians in southern Lebanon who are now homeless as a result of Israel's bombing of refugee camps.

Both governments hoped that leaving the Palestinians homeless would force them to disperse.

But with winter only days away, Israel doesn't want to be blamed for the death through exposure of the Palestinians in the Lebanese territory it occupies.

In the eyes of much of the world, since Israel demolished the housing to begin with, Israel will be held responsible for providing new housing. So Israel now says it is for housing these people, as long as it's only temporary accommodations.

However, as the squabbles persist between the United Nations, Lebanon, and Israel over who should make the first move, nothing has been done to provide shelter. Most of the homeless have been without a permanent roof over their heads since the first day of the invasion in June.

## 'Commissions of inquiry'?

Both the Lebanese and Israeli governments, bowing to the international outcry after the massacres in Beirut refugee camps in mid-September by Israeli-backed Phalangists, have set up so-called commissions of inquiry to get to the bottom of the massacre.

The Lebanese one is virtually nonexistent. And most witnesses have declined to testify, apparently fearing for their lives if they should finger one of Gemayel's cronies.

In Israel, unprecedented protests forced the reluctant government to convene a three-man panel. It's not exactly impartial — it includes the Chief Justice of the Israeli Supreme Court, another Supreme Court justice, and a retired Major General.

So far, all except two-and-a-half hours of its proceedings have been held in secret.

The only open session was part of Defense Minister Ariel Sharon's testimony on October 25. Even then, only reporters were allowed to attend.

Among the things Sharon was forced to admit were:

- Four months ago on June 15, the Israeli cabinet had decided to "integrate the Lebanese forces" into the refugee camps.

- Sharon maintained his stance that "none of us foresaw the atrocities that occurred in the neighborhoods of Sabra and Shatila, nor could we have foreseen them."

- To back up that assertion, at first Sharon testified that the "Christians of Lebanon, the Lebanese forces, are not a gang of hotheads. They are presently a very balanced establishment."

- But Sharon then admitted that Israeli forces had killed one soldier and wounded two others that belonged to the Israeli-backed militia of Major Saad Haddad because they had been discovered in a group involved in the massacre.

- Sharon acknowledged that he had knowledge of the massacre 24 hours after it began and basically did nothing about it.

Sharon recounted a phone call from his Chief of Staff during the massacre. The official told Sharon that the Christians had harmed the Palestinians *beyond what the Israelis had expected they would do*. Sharon quoted the Chief of Staff saying that the Lebanese actions were "exaggerated."

## Palestinian cultural event in N.Y.

NEW YORK — An evening of Palestinian and Lebanese music is scheduled to take place here Friday, November 5. The event, which will begin at 6:00 p.m., will be held at 777 United Nations Plaza, second floor. Admission is \$3.

This event is one of several activities in solidarity with the struggles of the Palestinian and Lebanese people organized by the November 29 Coalition. November 29 is the United Nations' day for international solidarity with Palestine.

A national demonstration in New York City will take place Saturday, November 27. Other cultural and fundraising activities will occur on November 26 and 27 in New York. A demonstration will be held in Austin, Texas, November 21, and a Solidarity night will take place November 28 in San Francisco.

The November 27 demonstration will demand the right of self-determination for the Palestinian people; immediate and unconditional withdrawal from Lebanon; U.S. Marines out of Lebanon; and fund human needs and jobs at home, not arms to Israel.

Participants are asked to assemble for the demonstration at noon at 34th Street and Broadway. There will be a march down 7th Avenue to Union Square for a rally occurring at approximately 3 p.m. Speakers will include a representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Lebanese National Movement.

Endorsers of the demonstration include: Palestine Congress of North America; Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee; Supporters of the Lebanese National Movement in the U.S.; *Freedomways* magazine; and the Patrice Lumumba Coalition. Individuals endorsing (with organization listed for identification purposes) include: Elombe Brath, president, Patrice Lumumba Coalition; Larry Ekin and Don Will, United Methodist Church Center at the United Nations; and Michael Ratner, president, National Lawyers Guild.

For more information on the November 27 demonstration and the other activities contact: the November 29 Coalition, P.O. Box 115, New York, N.Y. 10113. Telephone (212) 695-2686.

# Washington pushes war in Central America

Continued from Page 1

U.S. advisers and \$2 million in equipment are on the way to spur the conversion of Costa Rica's Civil Guard into a regular army. Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries have also been operating out of Costa Rica.

## 'Slow-motion Bay of Pigs'

Washington's counteroffensive in Central America has focused more and more on Nicaragua, where the revolutionary process is most advanced. The launching pad for the U.S. operations aimed at toppling the Sandinista government is Honduras, which has a pliable proimperialist regime and a long, sparsely populated border with Nicaragua.

For at least a year the Central Intelligence Agency has been arming and training a force of Nicaraguan exiles in camps in southern Honduras. Since July these counterrevolutionary troops — mostly ex-National Guardsmen of the Somoza regime or Miskitu Indians hoodwinked by their leaders into fleeing Nicaragua — have been crossing the border in large units armed with sophisticated weaponry. A *Washington Post* columnist recently termed this "a slow-motion Bay of Pigs invasion" of Nicaragua.

The Bay of Pigs invasion was Washington's ill-fated attempt in April 1961 to land a counterrevolutionary force on Cuban soil.

The step-up in counterrevolutionary attacks in July coincided with U.S.-Honduran military maneuvers near the border. The latter served as cover for the shipment of large quantities of supplies and matériel to the exile camps, and for Washington's massive buildup of the Honduran army's own forces. U.S. military aid to Honduras has increased by at least 700 percent over the last three years.

## Unprecedented military exercises

A further escalation in the military pressure on Nicaragua from Honduras is now being readied. "A joint U.S.-Honduran military exercise of unprecedented scale is being planned here with the aim of intimidating Nicaragua's revolutionary government," a dispatch from the Honduran capital, Tegucigalpa, to the October 17 *Washington Post* reported.

Diplomatic and government sources in Tegucigalpa told *Post* correspondent Christopher Dickey that the maneuvers would involve "a substantial feint near the border to convince the Sandinistas — as one official put it — 'that they will be finished' if they do not bend to the general line adopted by Washington and Honduras."

As a senior Honduran officer bluntly put it to the *New York Times* in July, "We can't have a socialist government" in Nicaragua. "It's them or us."

The *Post* article reported "growing concern" in Tegucigalpa diplomatic circles that the December maneuvers "could accidentally touch off a real war" between Honduras and Nicaragua.

But there seems to be little that is accidental about it. Washington would like nothing better than to provoke just such a conflict, charge Nicaragua with aggression, and use that as the pretext for massive intervention against the Sandinista revolution.

Commander Daniel Ortega, coordinator of Nicaragua's Junta of National Reconstruction, told the EFE news agency October 23 that his government had received a series of "reports that coincide in pointing to the month of December as the date fixed by the United States for mobilizing counterrevolutionary forces in a massive way against the Nicaraguan revolution." EFE reported in Managua that "official U.S. spokesmen refused to comment" on Ortega's statement.

## 'Kick in the teeth for Reagan'

The Reagan administration has been campaigning for months around the theme that Nicaragua's defense preparations constitute an "unwarranted military buildup" and a threat to Nicaragua's regional neighbors.

But Washington's propaganda drive took a big blow October 19 when a two-thirds majority in the UN General Assembly voted to place Nicaragua on the Security Council.

This acknowledgment of the Nicaraguan revolution's international prestige was correctly termed "a kick in the teeth for the Reagan administration" by Nicaraguan leader Tomás Borge. Tens of thousands of Nicaraguans took to the streets to celebrate the diplomatic victory.

Nicaragua has also received diplomatic support against Reagan's threats from presidents José López Portillo of Mexico and Luis Herrera Campíns of Venezuela. The two heads of state appealed to Reagan in a September 7 letter for the "exploration of ways that remain open to halt the current worrying escalation, the increase of tensions and the dangerous expectations as to the outcome of the crisis" along the Honduran-Nicaraguan border.

In particular, the two presidents called on Reagan to "halt the support, organization, and maintenance of Somozaist ex-Guardsmen" on Honduran territory.

Venezuelan President Herrera's role in the joint appeal reflected his government's recent shift away from earlier close association with Reagan's Central America policy. Herrera attended the third-anniversary celebration of the Nicaraguan revolution in July, and in August warned Reagan that "the epoch of armed interventions must be a closed chapter in the unfortunate history of Latin America." The Venezuelan government has also joined the Movement of Nonaligned Countries and moved to improve diplomatic ties with Cuba.

## Hypocrisy in San José

Similar appeals for talks were sent by López Portillo and Herrera to President Roberto Suazo Córdova of Honduras and to Commander Daniel Ortega, coordinator of Nicaragua's Junta of National Reconstruction.

Ortega responded within two days, reiterating Nicaragua's longstanding readiness to hold talks with the Honduran government. After 10 days, Suazo Córdova replied by suggesting that Mexico and Venezuela would do better to press Nicaragua "to restore its original commitments to the international community." The Honduran government, he protested, had already "shown more than enough patience and prudence in face of repeated provocations" from Nicaragua.

Reagan held off any reply until the State Department could put together a so-called Forum for Peace and Democracy in San José, Costa Rica, the first week of October. In attendance were foreign ministers from Costa Rica, Honduras, El Salvador, Jamaica, Colombia, and Belize; observers from Panama and the Dominican Republic; and U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for

Inter-American Affairs Thomas Enders.

Nicaragua was pointedly not invited to the forum.

Enders used the occasion to blast the Sandinistas for "fomenting violence in Honduras and Costa Rica." He said Nicaragua had become the region's most pressing problem because "a recalcitrant group of Marxist-Leninist ideologues . . . has created the largest military force in Central American history, which is a danger for its neighbors." In Nicaragua, Enders said, "it is necessary to find a way to prevent the greater and greater concentration of power and militarization and the growing repression against citizens."

At Enders's behest, the foreign ministers adopted a call for a "verifiable and reciprocal" regional accord to bar the importation of weapons and the use of foreign military advisers. This, at a time when the Pentagon is pouring arms and advisers into El Salvador and Honduras, has begun to do likewise in Costa Rica, and is pressing the U.S. Congress to legalize the same for Guatemala!

Once the San José meeting was over, the White House released Reagan's letter to the Mexican and Venezuelan presidents, in which he alleged "great interest" in their "very constructive" proposals. The letter affirmed Reagan's support for the decisions Enders had orchestrated at San José.

López Portillo and Herrera persisted, trying to organize a meeting between Ortega and Suazo Córdova in Caracas on October 13. Again Ortega communicated Nicaragua's readiness to attend, but the meeting fell through when Suazo Córdova refused to participate.

The flat rejection of talks by the Honduran regime is a further ominous sign that it

— and its masters in Washington — are dead set on escalating their aggression against Nicaragua.

## Rebel offensive in El Salvador

The Reagan administration is also under pressure to step up its intervention in Central America because its plans for defeating the revolution in El Salvador have not borne fruit. Days after Salvadoran Defense Minister Gen. José Guillermo García crowed to reporters that the FMLN was in its "death throes," rebel units of up to 700 guerrillas seized five towns in Morazán and Chalatenango provinces.

The coordinated FMLN offensive began October 10. At Perquín, in Morazán, an entire company of government troops was routed, with all 124 soldiers either killed or captured. In Chalatenango, the FMLN occupied Las Vueltas and El Jícaro and held off a counterattack by 2,000 government troops.

FMLN commando units also carried out the first actions in the capital itself in several months, and guerrilla forces succeeded in blockading the main east-west highways in many spots. In Usulután Province, the seaport of El Triunfo was reportedly sealed off by FMLN units on October 16.

The FMLN's October offensive underscored its continued strength, mobility, and popular support.

As of October 22, according to the *New York Times*, "leftist guerrillas continued to hold several villages in the northern and eastern sections of the country, and there was no sign that the Government planned any immediate major efforts to remove them."

From Intercontinental Press



Demonstration in Managua in 1981. The Nicaraguan people have pledged their support to the liberation fighters of El Salvador.

## Salvadoran junta and U.S. cover up kidnapping of fifteen rebel leaders

BY NELSON GONZÁLEZ

On October 22 five labor leaders and five leaders of the Salvadoran Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) were reported kidnapped by armed men in plainclothes. Additional reports however, indicate that the total number of missing political and labor leaders has reached 15.

Rev. Jesús Delgado, who gave the sermon on October 24 at San Salvador's main cathedral in place of acting Archbishop Ar-

turo Rivera y Damas, said the disappearances "appear to be a well-outlined plan to remove the internal leadership" of the FDR. "In this way," he said, "they weaken all attempts at dialogue between the government and guerrilla forces."

The kidnappings, which, according to a report in the October 23 *New York Times*, took place in separate incidents during the previous week, were carried out by heavily armed men in civilian dress.

In a statement issued by Guillermo Ungo, president of the FDR, and Rubén Zamora and Eduardo Calles, members of its executive committee, they charged that the government was responsible for the kidnapping. This action, they said, made "a joke of the call for peace made by the Catholic Church."

Meanwhile, U.S. Ambassador to El Salvador Dean R. Hinton termed the kidnappings as "thoroughly regrettable" and said he was "reasonably certain" that they had not been done under government orders.

However, just three days later the October 26 *New York Times* reported that the Salvadoran Defense Ministry admitted to be holding 8 of the fifteen people missing.

The world was treated to a carbon copy of these events in November 1980 when more than 20 leaders of the FDR were

seized by government security forces and brutally tortured and murdered in a similar attempt to behead the FDR leadership.

The 15 who are missing belong to the National Revolutionary Movement, the Popular Social Christian Movement, the Independent Movement of Professionals and Technicians of El Salvador, the Trade Union Federation of Salvadoran Workers and the United Federation of Salvadoran Trade Unions.

From Pathfinder  
**Nicaragua:**  
An introduction  
to the Sandinista  
Revolution

By Arnold Weissberg, Managua correspondent for *Intercontinental Press*.

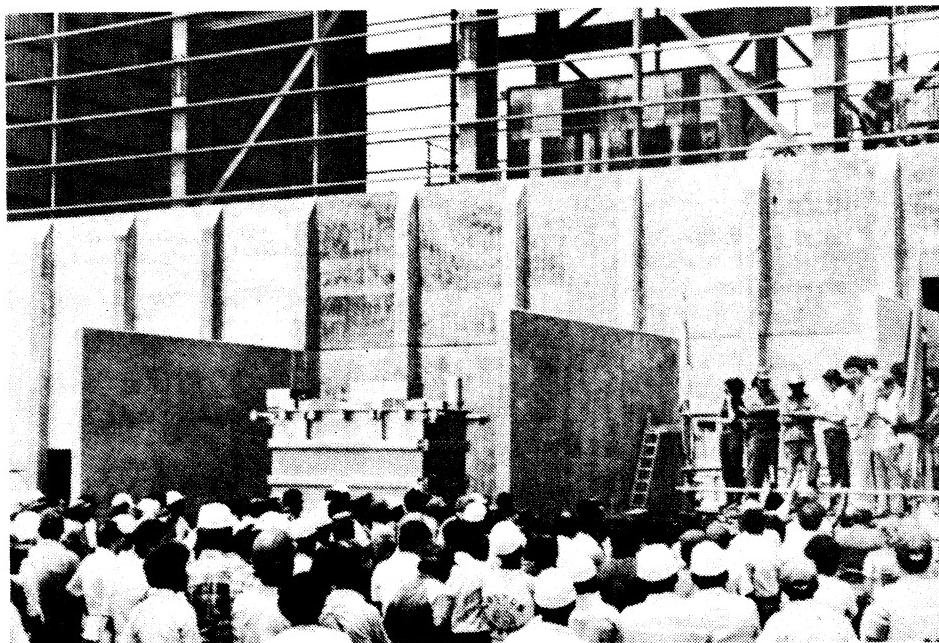
A clearly written description of pre-revolutionary Nicaragua, the insurrection, the far-reaching social measures taken by the Sandinista government and the U.S. government's response.

48 pp., \$95. Add \$.75 for postage.  
Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.



Militant/Fred Murphy  
Guillermo Ungo

# Construction workers in Nicaragua urge gov't to improve wages, work conditions



Meeting between construction workers and Commander Ortega.

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

MOMOTOMBO GEOTHERMAL PROJECT, Nicaragua — "Why are Italian technicians paid twice as much as Nicaraguans? On top of that, they don't treat us very well."

"Why do they have private, air-conditioned living quarters while we sleep four to a small room, with poor light, sanitation, food, and no recreational facilities?"

"We need more workers and more construction equipment if we're going to finish this project on time."

"Our wages are too low for this kind of work under these conditions. We need a readjustment."

What had been scheduled as a brief informational visit to the vast geothermal project underway here concluded with a public presentation of workers' complaints and concerns to the Sandinista government.

At the closing ceremony, union leaders representing the construction workers union SCAAS and Nicaraguan technicians working on the project put these questions and more to Commander Daniel Ortega, coordinator of the Junta of National Reconstruction.

## Geothermal power for Nicaragua

MOMOTOMBO GEOTHERMAL PROJECT, Nicaragua — Nicaragua is a land of lakes and volcanoes. Although the technology has long existed to use this combination as a cheap, renewable, non-polluting source of energy, it took the Sandinista revolution to begin to bring this to reality.

Plans, research, and investigation for this first geothermal unit date back to the mid-1960s, but it is only in the last three years that the project has really moved ahead.

Today, atop this remote 10-square-mile area of proven geothermal potential, one of the world's most modern power plants is being built.

Thirty-two wells have been dug to tap the earth's own steam. Twenty of them are productive, and the first five will be tapped to turn turbines when the unit enters initial operation in June 1983.

The first unit will provide 35 megawatts of electrical power, saving Nicaragua \$60,000 a day over what it would cost to produce the same electricity with imported oil. Research indicates that a second unit, at the same site and producing an equal amount of power, is feasible.

Eight more geothermal sites located throughout the country are believed to offer similar potential, and studies are continuing on them. Two major hydroelectric plants are also on the drawing board.

Nicaragua's overall plan for meeting increased power needs calls for a 20-year budget of \$765 million. If the goals can be met, by 1991 Nicaragua will produce more than four-fifths of its electricity through geothermal and hydroelectric plants.

Present in the audience were some 50 workers, several top officials of the revolutionary government, and 20 journalists, including correspondents for *Intercontinental Press*.

The meeting, held September 25, reflected several of the difficult problems the revolution faces.

The geothermal project itself, when it enters initial operation next year, will be a major advance to the country's economic potential.

But it is being built in an isolated, hot, muggy, mosquito-plagued area on the northern shore of Lake Managua, with few amenities for the workers who are based there six days a week.

### Problems facing revolution

The geothermal project, like everything else in Nicaragua, is being carried out in the context of the undeclared war — both military and economic — that American imperialism is carrying out against the Nicaraguan revolution.

Money is short, for everything. Major resources have to be devoted to defense against increasing attacks by the 5,000 counterrevolutionaries armed, trained, and paid by the U.S. government and stationed in camps just across the northern border with Honduras.

At the same time, funds available to the government are declining. On the one hand, the cutoff in U.S. economic aid and U.S. pressure to reduce loans and grants from other sources is making its impact felt.

On the other, revenues from exports will be sharply reduced this year, as a result of the disastrous floods last May and a severe drought that hit the key northern agricultural provinces in July and August.

Badly needed spare parts, machinery, and fuel — all of which must be paid for in dollars — are in increasingly short supply.

What funds are available are devoted to health care, education, agrarian reform and increasing crop yields, long-range projects like Momotombo, and \$10-million-a-month price subsidies on basic food and consumer items.

The plain truth, however, is that not everyone in Nicaragua either fully understands this context or agrees completely with the way priorities within it are decided. It would be utopian to expect that they would.

### Political conflict

SCAAS, the Union of Carpenters, Bricklayers, Assembly Workers, and Allied Trades, is an example of this reality. Affiliated with the union federation CGT(i),<sup>1</sup> it has a tradition of conflict with the revolutionary government.

The conflict stems, at bottom, from the fact that the CGT(i) leadership, although it formally accepts the Sandinista government as one that represents the workers and farmers, often acts as if the government was a capitalist regime. As a result, the CGT(i) advances economic demands without taking into account the impact of its de-

mands on the overall economic plan the government is trying to advance, or the effect of its demands on other sectors of the working class.

In Managua, for example, SCAAS workers went out on strike in January 1980 in opposition to a government program to create more jobs by reducing hours and wages of relatively well-paid SCAAS workers employed on a national project.

Since September 1981, strikes have been prohibited by law in Nicaragua.

The government, the FSLN, and the leadership of the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST) argue that this is a necessary measure to face up to the imperialist threat and the economic crisis, and that other channels now exist to resolve labor disputes.<sup>2</sup>

The union leaders at Momotombo, by taking the step of publicly presenting their grievances to Ortega, indicated they were not satisfied with the response they had so far received.

What the rank-and-file workers at Momotombo actually thought could not easily be determined. Those who attended the meeting stood with their arms folded during most of it.

As each of the union leaders finished his remarks, Commander Ortega took written copies of their complaints. He then asked for permission to speak.

### Ortega replies

Despite the country's economic limitations, he said, many of the concerns expressed seemed justified, particularly the requests for militia equipment, better food, a television, and recreational facilities. He said that the regional government commission, the Institute of Energy, and the Ministry of Labor would be asked to look into these complaints.

But wage adjustments, he said, are practically impossible because of the economic crisis.

"Remember," he said, "that when they give wage increases in other countries, what they do is raise the price of everything else even more." What the Sandinista government does, on the other hand, is to try to maintain workers' buying power through subsidized and controlled prices.

"There are some workers who *should have* wage increases," he added. "Those are the workers who are still receiving less than the minimum wage, of whom, unfortunately, there are still a great many. They are the first priority."

In response to the question about the foreign technicians' wages and living conditions, he explained that the project was being built in coordination with the Italian government, which was providing technology and experts Nicaragua did not have.

"It's hard for them to come here and work here under these conditions," he said, and we have to pay them and house them at international standards. Unfortunately, we cannot afford to pay Nicaraguan technicians at the same rate. "That's a reality we just have to face."

And we do not have on-the-job problems with the Italian workers because they're Italian, Ortega added.

"We have the same problems among ourselves, between Nicaraguan technicians and Nicaraguan workers. It's an inheritance of the past.

"Some technicians are arrogant. And not all members of the working class display a perfect level of organization, cooperation, and discipline in their work."

The real problem we face, Ortega said, is productivity.

"Workers don't want to work as hard as they did before the revolution. And that's not right. Before the revolution, when you had the boss over you, you worked hard. We have to work even harder now, because we are working for ourselves, for the entire nation."

Ortega urged the workers to try to establish better communication with the Ministry of Labor. You can't expect miracles, he told them, because it has limited resources and receives a vast quantity of complaints similar to yours.

"But it is an instrument of the revolution, it is headed by revolutionaries, and the revolution has confidence in it."

The meeting closed with applause and the chanting of revolutionary slogans.

The workers then began to discuss the issues among themselves as they boarded buses for the weekend trip to their homes.

From *Intercontinental Press*

1. The CGT(i) (Independent General Workers Federation), although relatively small, is a politically important union federation. It is affiliated with the pro-Moscow Socialist Party of Nicaragua (PSN), and through the SCAAS it organizes about one-third of the country's construction workers.

According to official figures from the Ministry of Labor, the CGT(i) has 6,500 members, 4,400 of whom are construction workers. By contrast, the main union federation, the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST) has 84,000 members (two-thirds of the country's organized work force), 9,000 of whom are construction workers.

The CGT(i), it should be noted, does not accept these figures. It publicly claims a membership of 20,000, but has never presented documentation to back this up.

2. For a more thorough treatment of the considerations involved in the ban on strikes in Nicaragua, see "The FSLN, the working class, and the economic emergency" by Fred Murphy, *Intercontinental Press* November 30, 1981, p. 1170.

## Tomas Borge's speech in 'IP'

The November 1 issue of *Intercontinental Press* features a speech by Commander Tomás Borge Martínez, Nicaraguan minister of the interior and a leader of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). Marking the fifth anniversary of the women's movement in Nicaragua, it was delivered in León September 29.

Addressing a rally of 2,000 women, including leaders of the Association of Nicaraguan Women, Borge discussed the oppression of women in Nicaragua before the workers and peasants overthrew Somoza in 1979, the many problems women still face, and what the revolutionary government is doing to resolve them.

Borge points out that women have made a big contribution to the general economic and social advances in Nicaragua in the past three years. "Nevertheless," he says, "all of us have to honestly admit that we haven't confronted the struggle for women's liberation with the same courage and decisiveness. Independently of the fact that women, in this stage, continue to bear the main responsibility for reproduction and the care of children, the burden of housework and discrimination still re-

lentlessly weighs down upon them."

He explains later that, "A concrete answer to these questions will be possible only to the extent that the individual tasks of women are socialized. It is society that has to provide the necessary daycare centers, laundries, people's restaurants, and other services that will, in effect free women from household work. This is not easy."

He goes on to describe what Nicaragua is doing in this regard in spite of the great economic difficulties facing the country.

The full text of the speech can be obtained for \$1.25 by writing to IP, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y., 10014. A six-month subscription to the biweekly news magazine can be purchased for \$12.50.

Subscribe to *Perspectiva Mundial*, biweekly, Spanish-language sister publication of the *Militant*. \$2.50 for 6 issues, \$8 for 6 months, or \$16 for one year. Write to 408 West St., New York, New York 10014.

## Fall Militant/PM Sales Goal

Should be: 22,500

45,000

Week 4: 25,727 sold to date

Socialists are on a special mobilization to widely distribute campaign material for socialist candidates in the 10-day period leading up to the November 2 elections. Initial reports indicate that the campaign is going well.

By Sunday, Virginia socialists had sold 120 papers, well over their regular weekly goal. In Washington, D.C., 245 *Militants* and 75 *PMs* were sold in three days.

As of the third day of the mobilization, an additional 700 papers were shipped to areas that had already gone way over their original plans for sales. We will have a full report on the results of the first seven days of the special campaign effort next week.

## Auto workers like 'Militant'

The coverage in the October 22 *Militant* of the Chrysler workers' rejection of the concession contract offered by the giant automaker was received with interest at auto plants around the country.

A team of three *Militant* supporters from Philadelphia took the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* to a Chrysler plant in Newark, Delaware, where the contract had been overwhelmingly rejected. This was the first time the *Militant* had ever been sold at the plant, and despite the fact that socialists

were restricted to selling at the entrance to the parking lot, they sold 44 copies of the *Militant* and one *PM* in an hour. One Black worker saw the headline and said, "That's just what I need, a militant newspaper."

Betsy Soares reported that a lot of workers bought the paper based on seeing the headline "After Three Years of Sacrifice, Chrysler Workers Say 'Enough'."

Socialists in Kansas City sold 42 copies of the *Militant* at a GM plant in Fairfax, Kansas. Fourteen of the papers were sold by socialist workers in the plant to their co-workers.

Indianapolis socialists report that at a shift change at a Chrysler foundry there, they sold out the 20 *Militants* they brought with them in a short time.

## N.J. campaigners take on Ford

Supporters of Claire Moriarty, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from New Jersey, lost no time in getting the *Militant* into the hands of workers at the Metuchen Ford plant in New Jersey. Campaigners went to the plant October 15, and within 10 minutes, after having sold five papers, they were run out of the area by plant security and Edison cops. They were told that it was illegal to sell there.

The socialists immediately

launched a campaign to defend their right to sell the *Militant* and campaign at the plant. Moriarty issued a statement condemning Ford and the Edison police department for interfering with her campaign supporters. Speaking on a televised debate sponsored by the League of Women Voters, she explained the importance of the discussion going on now among auto workers as a result of the Chrysler contract rejection and pledged that her campaigners would return to the plant.

And return they did, equipped with a statement they distributed entitled, "Can Ford and the Edison Police Tell You What to Read?" The socialists campaigned unharassed for over an hour, selling 18 copies of the *Militant*.

Socialists in the New York-New Jersey area finished the week having sold 57 copies of the *Militant* at three auto plants.

## Jobless workers like 'Militant'

A number of areas report successful sales at unemployment offices. Cincinnati socialists report that their unemployment office sale is the most rewarding sale of the week, as they run into industrial workers from a number of industries there. They sold 20 copies of the *Militant* to unemployed workers last week.

In nearby McKeesport, which is located in an area where unemployment among steelworkers is high, supporters of SWP candidate Mark Zola, who is running for Governor of Pennsylvania, have found a warm reception to socialist ideas. An all-day team to the unemployment office there sold 100 copies of the *Militant* last week with the help of a campaign supporter from McKeesport.

— BY SANDI SHERMAN

## SALES SCOREBOARD

(Militant issue #39, PM issue #19)

Area	Militant Goal/Sold	PM Goal/Sold	Total Goal/Sold	%
Price	55/114	5/7	60/121	202
Philadelphia	200/388	20/35	220/423	192
Milwaukee	185/300	15/13	200/313	157
San Antonio	75/91	35/80	110/171	155
Miami	85/138	15/11	100/149	149
Los Angeles	125/120	40/114	165/234	142
Seaside	45/61	5/6	50/67	134
Dallas	45/48	30/49	75/97	129
Iron Range	50/63	0/0	50/63	126
San Francisco	100/89	30/68	130/157	121
Boston	135/152	15/28	150/180	120
Newark	145/175	45/53	190/228	120
Oakland	100/116	10/16	110/132	120
Harrisburg	50/59	5/5	55/64	116
Chicago	140/152	20/34	160/186	116
Twin Cities	195/228	5/4	200/232	116
Pittsburgh	225/260	0/0	225/260	116
Gary	65/76	5/4	70/80	114
Phoenix	120/136	55/62	175/198	113
Morgantown	85/96	0/0	85/96	113
Detroit	90/97	7/12	97/109	112
Piedmont	90/100	0/1	90/101	112
Tidewater	90/100	0/0	90/100	111
St. Louis	150/166	0/0	150/166	111
Atlanta	120/135	5/2	125/137	110
Salt Lake City	90/97	5/7	95/104	109
Manhattan	300/298	100/137	400/435	109
Houston	90/88	25/37	115/125	109
Cincinnati	90/96	0/1	90/97	108
Wash., D.C.	160/166	25/31	185/197	106
Birmingham	110/116	0/0	110/116	105
Albuquerque	55/56	10/12	65/68	105
Denver	100/106	10/9	110/115	105
New Orleans	100/103	0/1	100/104	104
San Diego	65/70	15/13	80/83	104
Tucson	35/51	25/11	60/62	103
Schenectady	100/102	2/3	102/105	103
Charleston	70/72	0/0	70/72	103
Brooklyn	175/172	50/59	225/231	103
Louisville	80/82	0/0	80/82	103
Baltimore	300/307	0/0	300/307	102
Lincoln	50/51	0/0	50/51	102
Portland	60/61	0/0	60/61	102
Cleveland	105/99	10/16	115/115	100
Seattle	105/97	5/6	110/103	94
Kansas City	90/85	5/1	95/86	91
San Jose	90/73	20/18	110/91	83
Toledo	70/56	0/0	70/56	80
Indianapolis	40/28	0/0	40/28	70
<b>Totals</b>	<b>5,295/5,992</b>	<b>674/966</b>	<b>5,969/6,958</b>	<b>117</b>

## Rail bosses frame workers in train derailment

BY JOHN CHARBONNET

NEW ORLEANS — Illinois Central Gulf and state officials have attempted to place the blame for Louisiana's worst railroad disaster on three rail workers.

The accident occurred shortly before dawn September 28 when a 101-car ICG freight train carrying hazardous chemicals derailed in the center of Livingston, a small rural town 30 miles east of Baton Rouge. A total of 43 cars left the tracks. Of these, 36 contained hazardous chemicals including vinyl chloride and tetra-ethyl lead.

Fires and explosions spread poisonous fumes and destroyed or damaged over 20 homes. Those residents living next to the tracks were barely able to escape in time. State police sealed off the entire town and some 3,300 area residents were forced to evacuate their homes for the next two weeks while the intense chemical fire burned itself out.

Several days after the accident, the National Transportation Safety Board claimed that the train's engineer had been drinking beforehand and that the train was speeding.

On October 14 state police arrested the engineer, Edward Robertson, and the brakeman, James Reeves, as well as an ICG clerk, Janet Byrd. All three were charged with "reckless handling of hazardous materials." State Police Commander Grover "Bo" Garrison claimed that the train was speeding, that Robertson and Reeves were drunk, and that the clerk was operating the train when it derailed. He said the investigation was carried out together with special agents for the railroad.

The local media trumpeted the wildest charges against the three. The New Orleans *Times-Picayune/States-Item* stated: "A woman railroad employee just along for the ride was at the throttle of the speeding train." The newspaper quoted a "source close to the investigation" as saying that the engineer and brakeman were asleep

during the accident and "the girlfriend was at the throttle."

After the three were released on bond, the engineer angrily criticized the media's coverage in an interview with the Baton Rouge *State-Times*. He stated that he believed pressure was placed on officials to make an arrest.

Robertson strongly denied the train was speeding or that he was drunk. He said the train was traveling within the 35 mph limit, and he argued that even if the charges were true they would not explain the derailment. "The FRA [Federal Railroad Administration] said it was 36 mph and the state police said it was 39 mph. You can't really say speed was a factor," he said.

Robertson also denied the clerk drove the train and explained that she was catching a ride to another ICG station. "It's not uncommon for railroad employees to catch rides. They do it all the time," he said. Asked why the clerk had no permit, he answered, "Who's going to get a permit at four in the morning?"

When questioned by the press about the arrests, ICG Vice-president Robert O'Brien at first accused the engineer of changing his story. He then remarked, "Everybody is lying to everybody."

Cathy Westphal, manager of public relations for ICG, later admitted to the press:

"What the crew members were doing in the engine cab was not the cause of the accident." Nevertheless, the three were suspended awaiting a formal hearing. Nor have the state police charges been dropped.

The arrests coincided with the return,

after two frustrating weeks, of the 2,700 residents of Livingston to their homes. If ICG and state officials hoped the arrests would allay the fears and divert the anger of residents, they were in for a surprise.

While some people were mildly critical

of the workers as a result of the media smears, residents generally reacted to the

arrests with skepticism.

Travis Herring, whose mother's house was destroyed, told a *State-Times* reporter:

"Did you ever see it when they didn't lay it off on a working man? I'm not excusing

what they done, mind you, I'm just not

willing to sit here and buy that as the cause

of the wreck."

Carol Lebio, another resident, stated:

"Sounds to me like they're about to dump this on their laps."

The residents also expressed their views at a public meeting sponsored by ICG and government health officials designed to convince them the town was now safe to live in. The audience raised questions about the possibility of future train derailments and the long-term effects of the spilled chemicals.

Livingston residents are knowledgeable about hazardous chemicals. Many work at chemical plants or refineries in the Baton Rouge industrial corridor. As one person put it, "We want to know what's going to happen 10, 15, 20 years from now."

Shortly after the accident occurred, some residents pointed to poorly maintained tracks as the probable cause of the wreck. Hannon Stewart, an ex-Dow Chemical worker who quit his job to get

away from toxic chemicals and whose home was destroyed, told the press he had complained several times about the condition of the rails near his home.

The ICG line, along which the derailment occurred, has a history of accidents. In 1980 a train derailed in nearby Hammond spilling hazardous chemicals and forcing the evacuation of 2,500 people. In 1978 an ICG train derailed in Walker, seven miles west of Livingston.

ICG spokespersons have stated that its investigation has found the "official" cause of the accident to be a broken center pin on one of the cars. Such an explanation would be to the advantage of the company, since responsibility for the accident would then rest with the owner of the tank car, which is seldom the railroad. On the other hand, the railroad owns the track and is responsible for its maintenance.

As if to underscore the concerns of Livingston residents, on October 13, the day after they were permitted to return to their homes, a Kansas City Southern freight train derailed and caught fire near the Louisiana town of Vivian. Fortunately, the cars carrying hazardous chemicals remained on the tracks and no one was injured.



Rail workers framed in hazardous waste train derailment (from left) Edward Robertson, Janet Byrd, and James Reeves.

# Two killed in assault on Ariz. Black town

BY BOB THOMPSON

MIRACLE VALLEY, Ariz. — Cochise County deputies shot and killed two leaders of the Black community here on October 23. The victims were William Thomas and Augusta Tate. The attack climaxed three years of harassment against the 300-member Black Christ Miracle Healing Center and Church.

According to eyewitnesses, including Anne James, William Thomas's sister, 30 police units from five different law enforcement agencies arrived in the community on the morning of October 23. Two church members were served three traffic-related warrants. The church leaders had already told Sheriff Judd that the two were out of town. The police showed up anyway in full riot gear.

After searching the home of James Pickett, the deputies assaulted a 13-year-old girl. Several church members attempted to assist the girl. William Thomas came running up the road with his arms up yelling, "Stop, wait, let's see what's happening here." He turned his back on the police in order to calm down the others so that he could talk to the police.

A deputy sitting in a car took out his rifle, aimed it at Thomas's back and fired. Other deputies then opened fire on the unarmed crowd. Augusta Tate was also shot in the back.

Thomas later died of his wounds while two other church members were in critical condition for 24 hours in Tucson Hospital.

When the shooting was over the cops got back in their cars and left the scene. Anne James said, "The cops didn't give first aid, they didn't call an ambulance, they left our people lying in the dirt."

Anne James emphasized that the attack was unprovoked and that the residents were unarmed. "I can't understand why you kill because you want to serve a traffic ticket," she said.

According to James a deputy also aimed his rifle at Reverend Thomas, mother of William Thomas. Several teenage girls then surrounded her. The cops ordered them out of the way. They shouted back, "If you're going to kill Mrs. Thomas you're going to have to kill us too." The deputies then backed off.

Later the police sealed off the area and arrested several people, charging them with assaulting a police officer. The sheriff's deputies also began to cover up their shooting by picking up rifle shells, wiping up blood, and cleaning up the area. One teenage girl walking around was asked by cops what she had in her hand. She replied that she had nothing in her hand. They answered that if they saw anything in her hand they would shoot because "martial law has been declared here. This is our country."

Cochise County has had a long history of racial violence. In 1976 the Hannigan Brothers, millionaire ranchers, tortured and shot two Mexican workers. An all-white jury acquitted them, (the case was appealed to a higher court and one brother was found guilty while the other was found innocent).

Still another example of this racism occurred when the Black residents of Cochise County asked for traffic signs to be put up along the dirt roads near their community for the protection of their children. One sign installed displayed two small figures with the letters "N" and "A" on their chests. Reverend Thomas explained that the letters stood for "nigger asshole." No other signs in the state have such letters printed on them.

In protest, church members withdrew their children from the Palominas School.

In another instance of harassment and intimidation Steven Lindsey, 25, was killed when a bomb destroyed the van in which he and three other church members were riding in September 1981. The police claimed that the bomb was being transported in the van to be used to blow up the Siera Vista jail where two church members were being held.

In June church members filed a \$75 million lawsuit against Cochise County officials charging them with violating the civil rights of the Miracle Valley church members.

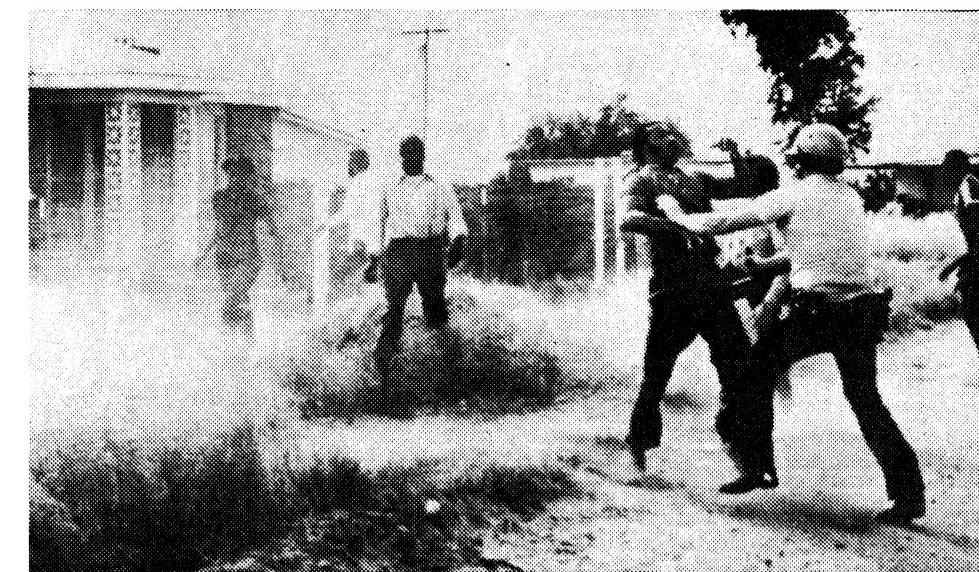
After the murder of Thomas and Tate the FBI and the Border Patrol have launched an "investigation."

"It's a shame it took these two murders

to get them started," pointed out Anne James. She hoped they wouldn't try to cover up the events but doubted if Governor Babbit of Arizona, who ordered the investigation, really cared about the Black community of Miracle Valley.

Major dailies in the state, such as the *Arizona Republic*, the *Arizona Star*, and others have grossly distorted the events in Miracle Valley, attempting to portray the Black community as some bizarre "Jim Jones"-type sect.

Robert Roper, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate, Jessica Sampson, SWP candidate for Congress, and some campaign supporters, however, went to Miracle Valley right away to get the real story. On the same day that the shooting took place they were in Miracle Valley learning for themselves what happened and expressing their solidarity with the community against the cops.



Racist cops attacking unarmed residents of Miracle Valley on October 23.

## On campaign road in Mich.: socialists reach Chrysler, jobless workers

DETROIT — "Hi, I'm running for governor. I'm a union member myself, and I think our union should form a labor party to put working people in office." With these words, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Michigan, Tim Craine, introduced himself to assembly line workers at the Whirlpool washing machine factory in Benton Harbor, Michigan. He was on a company-organized tour of the plant for "candidates day." Craine, a member of the Detroit Federation of Teachers, and campaign supporter Mike Hills distributed 400 pieces of literature. They found a positive response from the workers, members of International Association of Machinists Local 1981, to the idea of a labor party. They also heard many favorable comments in response to the slogan, "Jobs, Not War," featured on their campaign buttons.

Benton Harbor, a city of 16,000 on the shore of Lake Michigan, is, like many areas of the state, an economic disaster area for working people. Production at the Whirlpool plant is down from three assembly lines to two. As one worker said to Craine, "I need a new washing machine myself, but I cannot afford to buy one."

Other area factories have closed, and Benton Harbor has one of the highest unemployment rates in the state.

Craine's visit to Benton Harbor came as part of a trip to western Michigan. During this trip he also spoke to 125 people in Grand Rapids at a forum sponsored by the League of Women Voters and the Institute for Global Education, an antiwar organization. During a panel presentation with representatives of the other candidates, Craine was the only panelist to receive applause, for his proposal to take funds from the military budget to create a massive public works program and for his support of the Nicaraguan and Salvadoran revolutions.

The 1982 Michigan campaign has been one of the most extensive socialist campaigns in the state in many years. Feature articles on Craine recently appeared in major daily newspapers such as the *Flint Journal*, *Kalamazoo Gazette*, *Royal Oak Tribune*, *Ypsilanti Press*, and the *Grand Rapids Press*.

Interviews with Craine have been telecast on at least eight TV stations.

Flint is one city where the socialist campaign has been received with great interest. Unemployment stands officially at 25 percent as General Motors, the city's major employer, has cut back production. Craine and socialist campaigners have received an enthusiastic response at unemployment offices, shopping centers, food stamp lines, and at Mott Community College. The *Flint Voice*, a biweekly alternative newspaper, featured the campaign in a full-page story, which concluded that all progressive people should consider voting for Craine.

In the Detroit area, the socialist campaign has been favorably received by Chrysler workers, who have just voted over 2-to-1 against the contract offered by the company. Campaigning door-to-door on Detroit's East Side, Craine has talked



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

Tim Craine, candidate for governor of Michigan



Militant/L Paltrineri

Elizabeth Ziers, candidate for lieutenant governor

with many laid-off Chrysler employees who agree with him that the 1979 concessions agreement did not save their jobs. A reporter for WWJ Radio recently accompanied Craine on his door-to-door tour interviewing workers who said they were fed up with the two major parties and were considering voting socialist.

Elizabeth Ziers, SWP candidate for lieutenant governor and laid-off Ford auto worker, issued a statement attacking concessions and pointing out that the Democratic candidate for governor, James Blanchard, who helped engineer the Chrysler concession agreement in 1979, promises, if elected, "to give us all the Chrysler treatment from Lansing [Michigan state capital]." Her statement has been distributed at local Chrysler plants.

On October 23 Craine, Ziers, and SWP chair Malik Miah spoke at a campaign rally in Detroit, which 50 people attended. Civil liberties attorney James Lafferty and Bob Fitakis, a leading member of Detroit Democratic Socialists of America also spoke at the rally, endorsing Craine for governor. Two rally participants asked to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

During the last week of the campaign, several major media events are scheduled. The League of Women Voters is sponsoring a televised debate October 28, at which all gubernatorial candidates, including Craine, will participate equally. In addition, Craine will take part in a debate October 30 to be shown on public television stations.

## Racism fought on N. Mex. campus

BY JEFF JONES

ALBUQUERQUE, N.M. — An editorial in the student newspaper at the University of New Mexico here has provoked an angry response from students, especially Blacks and Chicanos. The editorial, published in the October 13 issue of the *Daily Lobo* belittled the racist obstacles to education for minorities. Seizing on test scores released on the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT), managing editor Mark Blazek wrote that they "proved what every one knew all along — minorities are academically inferior to whites." He concluded that "Minority groups should stop clamoring with catch words like 'discrimination' until they can prove malicious intent, i.e., racial discrimination."

The day following the appearance of the editorial angry students organized a news conference where they blasted its racist character. A march was organized on the *Lobo* offices. A flood of letters against the editorial appeared in the *Lobo*, including from members of the *Lobo* staff.

This pressure forced Blazek's resigna-

tion and led the Student Publications Board to suspend the editor, Marcy McKinley. The suspension occurred at a meeting October 15 that had to be moved twice because the rooms were too small to hold the number of furious students that filled them.

A counterattack was launched by the *Albuquerque Journal*, a local daily, in an editorial October 16, headlined "No to Mob Rule." The *Journal* argued that McKinley's suspension represented censorship. It avoided the issue of student control of the student newspaper.

McKinley retained the services of a local law firm. Under the threat of a lawsuit over alleged violations of due process in her suspension, the Student Publications Board reinstated her October 20. The Board voted to hold a formal hearing October 27 on charges of misconduct, mismanagement, and neglect of duty brought against McKinley.

Students on the campus are still organizing protests against the racist editorial and the denial of their right to control their newspaper.

# The case of Cuba's 'wheelchair poet'

BY HARRY RING

It would surely seem a case to evoke righteous indignation. A poet in a wheelchair confined in a Cuban prison for 22 years for criticizing Fidel Castro.

So great is the injustice that François Mitterrand, Socialist Party president of France, intervenes on his behalf.

The Cuban government agrees to the poet's release and Armando Valladares flies to freedom in Paris. (Just a visit. He plans to settle in Miami.)

His story is indeed a harrowing one.

In French TV interviews, Valladares said an "average" day was one in which he got up at 4 a.m. to crush stones in withering heat until 6 or 7 p.m.

For seven years, he said, he lived in an unlit cell.

So harsh was his treatment and so poor his diet, the story goes, that his legs became paralyzed and he was confined to a wheelchair. In 1978, over a six-month period, hospital care restored his ability to walk.

From his own account, Valladares is quite a fellow. Despite asserted confinement in an unlit cell, 12 to 14 hours a day on the rockpile in the tropical sun, hunger and paralysis, he wrote poetry in prison which was smuggled abroad and, according to the *New York Times*, became "best sellers among the Cuban exile community."

The *Times* was properly indignant about the whole matter. An October 24 editorial declared:

"He didn't bow, and it took the intervention of France's President Mitterrand to end the 45-year-old poet's ordeal. Ponder that: despite a monopoly of state power, Mr. Castro has felt threatened by a caged poet in a wheelchair. . . . When dictators fear poets they usually have much more to fear."

Admittedly, the story of the "caged poet" would constitute an indictment of the revolutionary Cuban government — if it were true.

But the fact is that the story is a fraud. Virtually every central fact is falsified.

The true story of Armando Valladares appeared in this paper July 31, 1981. The article, by Will Reissner, was reprinted from the July 13, 1981, issue of *Intercontinental Press*.

Reissner's story was based on a documented article on the case by Héctor Fernández Pardo, writer for the Cuban news agency Prensa Latina, and a feature story by José Pagés which appeared in the Spanish magazine *Interviú*. Pagés visited Valladares in prison in December 1980.

Earlier in 1980 lying stories had been circulated internationally about Valladares by several wire services.

A June 3, 1980, AP dispatch described him in these terms:

"Valladares, age 43, a nationalist Catholic, took part in the struggle against the dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista, but was sentenced to 30 years in prison in 1960 by the Castro regime."

The French news agency, Agence France-Press, repeated this, adding that Valladares was a student when Batista was overthrown.

The fact of Valladares's being incapacitated was exploited by counterrevolutionary exiles right up to the time of his release, even though his ability to walk had been restored three years ago.

Reporting on Valladares's arrival in Paris, the October 23 *Miami Herald* reported, "The poet's family and friends said they were surprised to learn that Valladares, who was thought to be confined to a wheelchair, could walk."

Valladares explained this surprising development by telling the *Herald* that his capacity to walk had not been restored until a few months ago and his family and friends were not aware of this because he had been held incommunicado for the past year and a half.

But in an interview the very next day with French television, Valladares said he had been able to walk since 1979 (when his poetry was being received and published by his wife in Miami).

Valladares had been crippled by polyneuritis as a result of improper diet. But not because he was starved. During his period in prison he engaged in at least 15 hunger strikes.

OK, it may be argued, put aside the question of how his legs were afflicted and when he was cured. The fact remains that a young student, a Catholic, a poet, an opponent of the Batista regime, was jailed for 22 years for simply criticizing the Castro government.

That's 98 percent fiction.

Valladares was, and apparently remains, a Catholic.

He was not imprisoned as a poet. He didn't begin writing poetry until after he was in prison.

He was not a student.

He was not an opponent of the Batista regime. He was a cop.

On October 7, 1957, Valladares joined the Batista police force. He remained on active duty until the victory of the revolution in January 1959.

He was not jailed for criticizing the new government.

Valladares was arrested December 27, 1960, along with 16 other people. They were charged with planting bombs in public places.

In the house where they were arrested, police found weapons, ammunition, dynamite, and material for making bombs.

They were tried and convicted in 1961 and sentenced to 30 years. Later, their sentences were reduced to 25 years.



Front and back of ID card accrediting Valladares as member of Batista's police force. This accompanied an article about Valladares in Spanish magazine *Interviú*. It was republished here in the Spring 1981 issue of the magazine *Cubatimes*.

Valladares came out of prison the same virulent anticommunist that he was when he entered.

Asked by a French TV interviewer about the difference between the Batista and Castro regimes, Valladares responded: "The most awful dictatorship that humanity has known is the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Those who are dependent on the big-business media for their information would have little chance of knowing what a fake and a fraud the whole heart-rending story of the "caged poet" really is.

But it would be naive to think that the

editors of the papers that peddled the story didn't know.

And it would be equally naive to think the French government didn't check out the facts before President Mitterrand intervened.

No, this was one more cynical move to discredit the Cuban revolution, a revolution that the imperialist powers, and their hirelings, are determined to beat back.

Their problem is that the proud record of the Cuban revolution doesn't lend itself to exploitation by anticommunist propagandists. That's why they have to resort to such crude fabrications as the story of the "wheelchair poet."

## Valuable role of 'Militant' confirmed

BY HARRY RING

For an absorbing first-person account of how a Black youth developed into a socialist leader, be sure to read the Pathfinder Press pamphlet, *Mel Mason — The Making of a Revolutionary*.

A leader of the Socialist Workers Party and independent candidate for governor of California, Mason is a member of the city council in Seaside, a small, mainly Black city in northern California.

Born in a Kentucky coal mining town, Mason moved to Seaside at 13. He describes his evolution, from the period in his teens when he wanted to escape his Black identity to when he became a resolute fighter against racism and the capitalist system that spawns it.

Here I would like to cite Mason's account of what led him to join the Socialist Workers Party and the key role that the *Militant* played in winning him to the party.

Mason became politically active in 1965 but began reading the *Militant* regularly in 1971.

"In trips to the San Francisco Bay Area," he explains, "I would come across people selling it. And I would buy it because I remembered from my reading that Malcolm X had made a lot of good statements about the *Militant*. Malcolm had also participated in some forums sponsored by the *Militant*."

Mason continues, "I liked what the *Militant* had to say about the war in Vietnam and the need to build a mass move-

ment against that war. I was especially interested in its coverage of the Black liberation struggles taking place across the country." In the 1975-76 period, Mason arranged for SWP candidates and other party leaders to speak at Monterey Peninsula College where he's employed as a student activities coordinator.

Among these were Omari Musa, then SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from California, and Willie Mae Reid, 1976 vice-presidential candidate of the party.

"It was after I talked with Willie Mae Reid in early 1976 that I decided the SWP was definitely the organization I wanted to join."

Mason changed his registration from independent to SWP and, "I openly declared myself a socialist and began to actively discuss and talk socialism in the community." In 1978, Mason ran for the city council. His nominating petition was thrown out on a technicality and he waged a write-in campaign and got the most write-in votes in the city's history.

In 1980, Mason ran again. He describes the campaign:

"A key part of our platform was the need for working people to become politically independent and along these lines we pledged to use the city council to fight for the interests of Blacks and working people in Seaside."

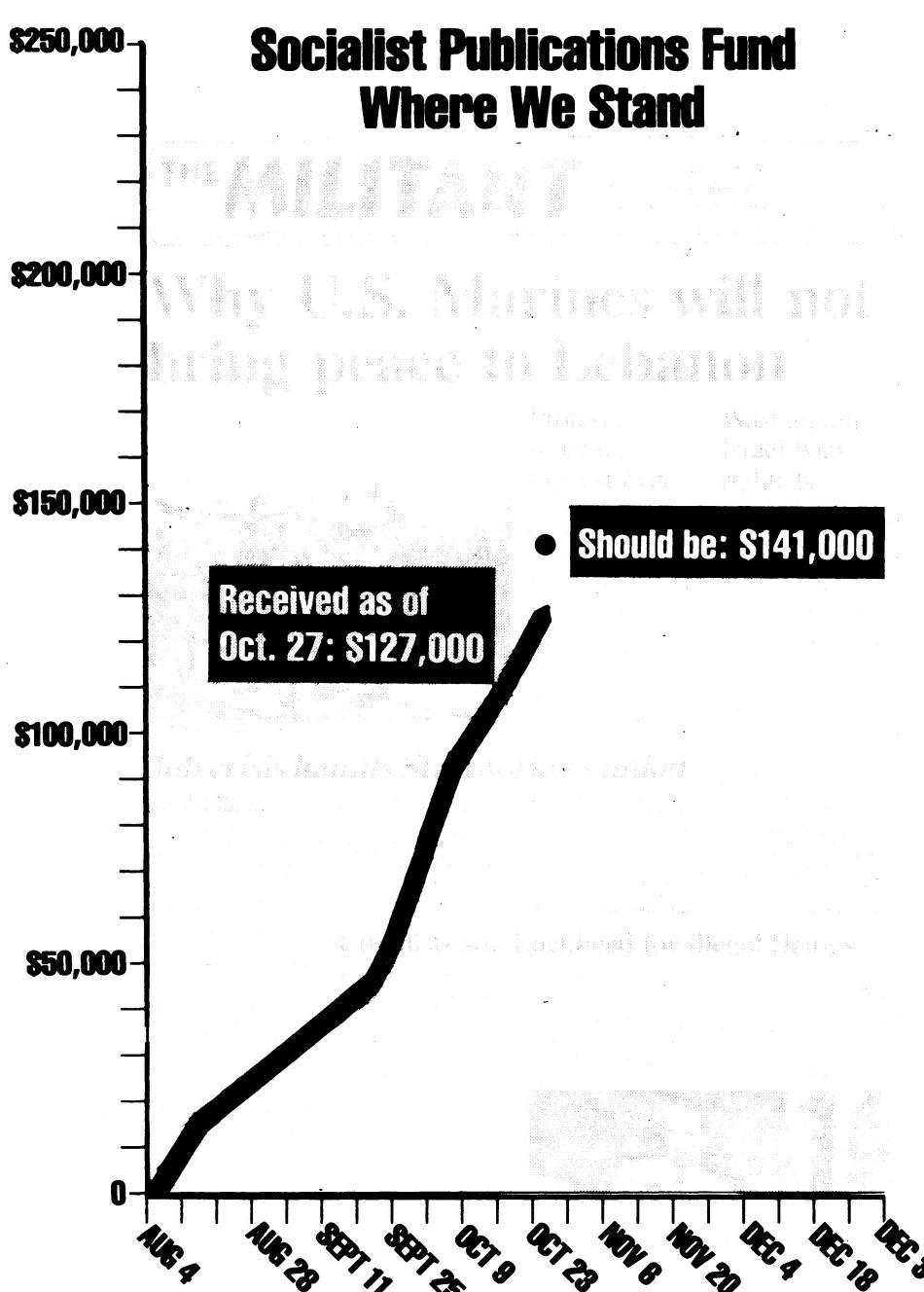
Many of the established Black community figures opposed Mason's campaign. The Sunday before elections the town's Black preachers told their congregations not to vote for him.

"But we won. I was elected without the backing of what was supposed to be big Black people in this community."

We're confident that there are many more revolutionary fighters like Mel Mason coming forward and it's our job to reach them with our socialist message.

If you agree, one immediate thing you can do to further this process is to make a contribution to our Socialist Publication Fund.

And, as a special inducement, we'll acknowledge your contribution with a complimentary copy of the 40-page pamphlet, *Mel Mason — The Making of a Revolutionary*.



Enclosed is my contribution of:

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Make checks payable to:

Socialist Publications Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.



Militant photos by Della Rossa

California Socialist Workers candidates Pedro Vásquez (left) and Seth Galinsky.

#### BY DAVE PRINCE

SAN FRANCISCO — In California and nationally, Democratic and Republican Party candidates are on a crime scare, law-and-order campaign. They call for more cops and police powers, stiffer sentences, more jails, and less rights for victims of capitalist "justice." Another theme calls for stepped-up use of the death penalty.

President Reagan added his voice to the mounting crescendo in an October 14 speech to the Justice Department in which he declared that "crime today is an American epidemic."

The crime scare is a fraud and reactionary to the core. Its real aim is to foster racism and to roll back the democratic rights of working people in general.

Under the guise of fighting crime, democratic rights are curtailed. New laws are adopted that will then be used against strikers, fighters for Black and women's rights, socialists — against working people generally to intimidate them from fighting back against the attacks on their living standards and rights.

Two of the propositions on the California ballot this November are part and parcel of this anti-working-class campaign: Proposition 15, a handgun-control measure; and Proposition 2, a bond issue to finance more prisons.

The campaign in the media for the gun-control measure centers around the crime question. The vote "no" media campaign likewise fosters the crime scare, while also appealing to the sentiment in favor of the democratic right to own a gun.

Among the supporters of Proposition 15 are Thomas Bradley, Democratic candidate for governor; Edmund Brown, current governor and Democratic candidate for U.S. Senate; and most police chiefs in the state. The voté "yes" campaign is organized by an umbrella organization called Californians Against Street Crime. Its main slogan is, "Stop street guns. Enough is enough."

The vote "no" campaign includes the antiunion leadership of the National Rifle Association; George Deukmejian, Republican candidate for governor; and George Nicholson, a drafter of the "Victim's Bill of Rights" — a fake anticrime measure adopted by referendum in June. This measure restricts the right to bail and other democratic rights and allows police more leeway in introducing illegally obtained evidence, etc.

Those calling for a "no" vote charge that Proposition 15 will divert police from fighting crime. Their arguments go in the direction of abetting racist vigilantism in the fight against crime.

The Democratic and Republican supporters of the handgun-control initiative argue they just want to take guns out of the hands of criminals. The capitalist politicians opposed to the measure argue gun control will take guns out of the hands of "law-abiding" citizens.

Both Democrat Bradley and Republican Deukmejian support Proposition 2 for more jails.

Mel Mason, independent candidate for governor and a leader of the Socialist Workers Party; Juan Martínez, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; Pedro Vásquez, SWP candidate for California secretary of state; and Seth Galinsky, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress in the 24th District in Los Angeles, oppose Propositions 2 and 15. They urge working people to vote "no" on both.

#### Attack on democratic rights

The socialists oppose both measures because they are part of the law-and-order campaign aimed at the rights of Blacks, Latinos, and other oppressed minorities

# Why Calif. socialists oppose 'anticrime' ballot propositions

and working people as a whole. They also reject the reactionary arguments of the right-wing opponents of Proposition 15, which foster the crime scare from another angle.

The law-and-order campaign is one aspect of the attempt by the ruling rich to reduce the democratic rights of all working people. They seek to tighten the noose around any opposition, or potential opposition to their policies.

Attorney General William French Smith gave an indication of what the war on crime is about in a speech to the Federal Legal Council one year ago.

"Already there have been many significant changes [since Reagan took office]. We have proposed a comprehensive crime package of more than 150 administrative and legislative initiatives that would help redress imbalance between the forces of law and the forces of lawlessness. We have proposed a new approach to immigration and refugee policy designed to reassert control over our own borders. . . . We have firmly enforced the law that forbids federal employees from striking. We have opposed the distortion of the meaning of equal protection by courts that mandate counterproductive busing and quotas. We have helped to select appointees to the federal bench who understand the meaning of judicial restraint."

Helping "redress the imbalance between the forces of law and the forces of lawlessness" means giving cops more leeway in the kind of evidence they can introduce; widening police powers of search and seizure; undermining the presumption of innocence until proven guilty, the right to bail, and other democratic rights and guarantees, which working people have fought to secure.

The attempt to whip up a hysteria against "illegal-alien" is also a central part of the racist law-and-order campaign as Attorney General Smith indicated. The Democrats and Republicans seek to put the blame for unemployment on "illegal" immigrant workers — Haitians, Asians, and Latinos.

Attorney General Smith's crowing over "firmly" forbidding federal employees from striking refers to the smashing last year of the air traffic controllers union (PATCO) — an indication of who he thinks the criminals are.

Smith's law-and-order campaign includes opposing busing to carry out school desegregation and any use of the courts by Black people and others to secure their rights. Instead, he urges the courts to use

"judicial restraint" — to *not* defend Black rights.

The Democratic and Republican parties' cry for a war on crime is also license for increased police brutality. Justification of police murder in the streets and jails; use of the choke-hold, police dogs, and curfews; wholesale deportations of undocumented workers — that's how law and order is enforced in this country.

#### Attack on labor

The law-and-order campaign is part of a ruling-class offensive which is aimed at weakening and ultimately destroying the power of the unions.

In the name of national security the companies and government, with the help of labor spies and political police, have set about firing union militants at Lockheed, McDonnell Douglas, and other companies.

Cop violence and the use of scabs and strikebreakers against "criminal" striking workers are on the rise.

The failure of the labor officialdom to expose the bipartisan law-and-order campaign has made it easier for the ruling rich to carry out its policies.

One important example is the failure of the California AFL-CIO to take any position on gun control. So both supporters and opponents of the measure have been able to use Proposition 15 as a springboard to advance the antilabor crime scare.

If passed, the handgun-control initiative would ban all sales of handguns in California, after a grace period, in 1983, except to cops and an unspecified group called "special categories."

The law would require all handguns now owned in California to be registered and impose stiff sentences and fines for the ownership, sales, or importation into California of unregistered guns. There would be a *mandatory* minimum sentence of six months in jail. The only guns that could be sold would be those already registered — those already owned by the time the grace period is up.

Such a setup would be perfect for selective victimization by the cops. The law would be used to try and frame union militants and Black activists or anyone else the cops don't like. Guns will be planted on militants, and police provocateurs will try to entrap people through making arms sales, etc.

Another feature of the proposed law is that if an unregistered handgun is used in a

crime, and the cops can pin ownership of the gun on you, then you face a fine of up to \$25,000 for that fact alone. This too would increase police frame-up possibilities.

Limiting the right to bear arms also chips away at the right of working people to defend themselves against ruling-class-inspired violence. For example, a Black family victimized by armed racist attacks, who defended themselves with a handgun, would find that *they* faced stiff prison terms and fines.

#### More jails?

The California State AFL-CIO calls for a "yes" vote on Proposition 2 for financing more prisons to cut down on overcrowding. While working people have an interest in championing the demands of prisoners for all types of immediate improvements in their conditions, we have no interest in the reform approach that says the solution is to build more and "better" prisons. This is liberal window dressing to bolster the prison system which is used by the rulers to intimidate workers and the oppressed and punish them for rebelling.

California Peace and Freedom candidate for state Attorney General, Dan Siegel, calls for "Jobs not Jails." This slogan is designed to be an answer to the right-wing, law-and-order campaign, but in fact it misleads workers into accepting the arguments of law-and-order advocates that the criminals are the unemployed workers.

Full employment under capitalism has never eliminated crime. Organized crime continues to flourish. Corruption continues to be generated at all levels of capitalist society. These attributes of capitalism are usually accelerated as the machinery of capitalist exploitation, oppression, and accumulation operates full blast. The 1920s, for example, were not known as crime-free years as compared to the 1930 depression years.

Of course one of the reasons it is important to fight for jobs for our class is to reduce the circumstances that force desperate workers to steal in order to feed their families, to survive.

It is true that unemployment and poverty must be eliminated. Fighting against unemployment increases the morale and self-confidence of the working class and is part of the fight to eliminate the system that generates all kinds of antisocial acts.

But the axis of that fight must be against the real criminal — capitalism.

## U.N. meeting commemorates slain ANC leader

#### BY ERNEST HARSCH

NEW YORK — "She has fallen, she has fallen, hero of heroes, she has fallen."

The chorus, in Zulu, filled the chapel of the Church Center for the United Nations here October 14, as some 100 friends, diplomats, and comrades in struggle turned out to pay tribute to the life of Ruth First.

First, a leader of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa, was killed by a parcel bomb August 17 in Maputo, the capital of Mozambique. The ANC and the Mozambican government have accused the apartheid regime in neighboring South Africa of being behind the terrorist attack.

First certainly was high on the South African regime's hit list. She had been an active opponent of the white supremacist system in that country all her adult life, working with both the ANC and the South African Communist Party since the 1940s. As a white who linked her life to the struggle for Black liberation, she won the particular

enmity of the racist authorities.

Imprisoned and detained a number of times for her beliefs, First left South Africa in 1964 to continue her fight against the apartheid regime from exile. And for that, she was killed.

"Dying for the motherland and the revolution has more significance than any other kind of death," stated Joaquim Chissano, Mozambique's foreign minister, who chaired the memorial meeting.

Chissano noted that First's assassination was linked to the South African regime's stepped-up attacks against Mozambique itself, and other countries in the region. Pretoria's aim, he noted, was to get Mozambique to end its support for the South African liberation struggle.

"To this we say: No!" Chissano declared. "We reaffirm our support and solidarity with the South African people and with its revolutionary vanguard, the African National Congress of South Africa."

Representatives of a number of countries got up to condemn the murder of First and to commemorate her life's struggle, including officials from Zambia, Swaziland, Botswana, and Antigua.

A representative of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), which is fighting for Namibia's independence from South African rule, stated that despite First's killing, "We in SWAPO are fully convinced that the ANC will intensify the struggle until apartheid is destroyed."

Lázaro Mora Secades, the Cuban representative to the UN, spoke on behalf of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries, of which Cuba is the chair. He blasted "racist Pretoria's attempts to annihilate the heroic resistance" and its acts of aggression against neighboring countries.

Mora also condemned "certain Western powers" for their complicity with the apartheid system, the South African occupation of Namibia, and Pretoria's aggression in the region.

# Victimized unionists file suit against Lockheed, gov't spying

BY JOHN STUDER

September 20, 1982, 15 members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) filed a \$3.4 million lawsuit against Lockheed-Georgia corporation. In their complaint, the IAM members "seek redress for defendants' conspiracy to deprive plaintiffs of . . . their First Amendment rights; for defendant Lockheed-Georgia Company's breach of its employment contract with plaintiffs; and for defendants' invasion of plaintiffs' privacy."

During the fall of 1980, Lockheed conducted a massive investigation of these IAM members and their union local, Lodge 709. By January 1981, 14 of them had been fired from Lockheed's Marietta plant in Georgia on the trumped-up pretext that they had lied on their preemployment applications. The real reason is that they were union activists and supporters of the Socialist Workers Party.

The fight against these firings uncovered an elaborate network of company and government spies and political surveillance aimed at the union and at all unionists who hold ideas the company disagrees with.

The fight to reverse these firings and to halt such antiunion spying and harassment is important for the entire labor movement and for all defenders of political rights. The Lockheed firings are part of a coordinated antilabor campaign launched by the government and the nation's employers. From PATCO; to the meatcutters forced on strike by Iowa Beef Processor and attacked by state police in Dakota City, Nebraska; to the teachers jailed in Teaneck, New Jersey, the unions are under attack.

The lawsuit against Lockheed is an important challenge to this antilabor drive. It seeks reinstatement, back pay, and full seniority for the 14 fired unionists. It also asks for an injunction against any future spying or harassment, as well as over \$3 million in damages. At stake is the right of the entire union movement and of every worker to take part in union and political activity.

## Who is involved?

During the fall of 1980, Lockheed and Lodge 709 of the IAM were embroiled in contract negotiations. The local held a number of union meetings to discuss the negotiating positions the local's bargaining committee should adopt and the terms of the proposed contract.

The complaint summarizes the role of the 15 unionists who filed the lawsuit during these months: "plaintiffs were all active in the union. They encouraged other employees to join the union and to participate in its meetings; encouraged participation in the IAM-endorsed Labor Conference for Safe Energy and Full Employment held in October 1980; those who were employed by the company at the time played an active role during the summer and fall of 1980 in the union's discussions concerning the IAM's contract negotiations with Lockheed; and talked with other employees about the role they believed the unions should play in United States politics."

The fight of these 15 unionists for their

jobs has won backing from a wide range of labor and civil rights leaders. Andrew Young, mayor of Atlanta; Mark Stepp, international vice-president of the United Auto Workers; United Mine Workers locals 1197 in Cokeburg, Pennsylvania, and 6132 in Bessemer, Pennsylvania; Leamon Hood, southeast area director of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; the New York State Public Employees Federation, AFL-CIO; Paul Morris, president of IAM District 46; and the St. Louis chapter of the NAACP are among those who have signed or adopted statements demanding the unionists' jobs back.

The defendants in the case are Lockheed-Georgia and nine of its employees and informers. Lockheed and its "Plant Protection" department enjoy an extremely close relationship with the government. As the complaint details, "the United States Air Force owns most of the facilities," which it "leases to the company for a nominal sum." The complaint explains that "the Defense Investigative Service [DIS] of the Department of Defense maintains an office at the Marietta plant, through which it administers the Industrial Personnel Security Clearance Program" and "influences personnel decisions of the company."

DIS is a nationwide secret police agency which spies on workers employed by Pentagon contractors. DIS keeps tabs on more than 15 million people.

In addition to this DIS connection, Lockheed "solicited assistance from at least four Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) offices during the course of the investigation — New York, Ft. Lauderdale, Philadelphia and Los Angeles."

Defendant John Thompson, manager of Lockheed-Georgia's Plant Protection department, is also on the Board of Directors of the American Society for Industrial Security (ASIS). This corporate-Pentagon think tank has 17,000 members and meets regularly to share experiences in curbing union and political rights.

In the March 1982 edition of *Security Management*, ASIS's monthly magazine, an article entitled "Coping With Legal Restraints" coaches "security managers" on how to spy on unionists and send "undercover agents" into union meetings — especially during strikes — without crossing the "thin line" into "unfair labor practices." The author of the article, E. Gary Baker, is described as president of a firm that "specializes in security consulting and planning before, during and after labor disputes."

Other Lockheed "security" officers named as defendants are Edward Garbers, a supervisor in the Plant Protection department, and investigators Robert Lang and George Slichto. Lockheed department manager Bill Pope, Labor Relations department representative Ron Hudson and employee-informer C.H. Bankston are also named.

Two as yet unknown agents of the company who spied on union meetings and the 15 IAM members and reported back to Lockheed are also named in the complaint — as "John Doe" and "Richard Roe."

The two sets of interests in this lawsuit are quite clear. On one side — 15 IAM members, their union, and supporters of labor's rights all across the country.

On the other side — Lockheed, the Pentagon, DIS, the FBI, the American Society for Industrial Security and all those who applaud the union-busting drive of the employers and the government.

## The facts

On October 19, 1980, IAM Lodge 709 voted on a proposed new contract with Lockheed. Lockheed had an informer watching the vote.

Five lodge members — plaintiffs in the lawsuit — distributed a flyer in the parking lot of the union hall. The flyer, which had been produced by the SWP election campaign committee, addressed the spreading attacks on the unions and "advocated that the labor movement form its own political

party and run its own candidates for office."

The next day, Lockheed got a report on these events from the informer — named in the complaint as "John Doe." In a secret "Industrial Relations Reserved Data" memorandum written that day, defendant Lang outlined the launching of a "National Loyalty" investigation of the local's membership.

Lang composed a "profile" of a "subversive" unionist and ran all workers' files through Lockheed's computer seeking those who fit the picture. This "profile" included "hourly employees with Bachelor degrees, California employment, or emergency contacts indicating alien ancestry."

At the same time, Lang subtitled his memorandum "Circulation of Literature" because "John Doe" had provided the names of two IAM members who had distributed the flyers. For them — and anyone else who fit his "profile" — Lang promised an "intensified investigation relative to both subjects' background to develop any positive ties with the Communist organization."

Lang — an ex-FBI file clerk known to many unionists as "FBI Bob" — wasn't just compiling a list of the political views and associations of the members of Lodge 709. His aim was to identify active unionists for Lockheed and find a way to fire them.

Only hours after the company fink had fingered the two unionists, Lang had found that their "initial background investigation," conducted when the targeted unionists were hired, had "verified" everything on their applications. This didn't stop Lang. He knew his job was to get them. He added a third headline on the memo — "Falsification of Employment Application."

## Spies and informers

The complaint charges that Lockheed's three-month investigation employed "numerous intrusive and illegal techniques, including solicitation of information from confidential informers, physical and electronic surveillance of plaintiffs, exchanging information with local and federal police agencies, and nonroutine contacting of plaintiffs' former employers."

Lockheed "solicited, received, compiled and circulated reports from confidential informers about the identities of possible SWP members and about plaintiffs' private lives, political beliefs and activities, and their participation in union meetings and activities."

Lockheed agents "directed a confidential informer to remove political literature" from "plaintiffs' tool boxes or lockers." They "engaged in visual surveillance of plaintiffs' off-the-job activities, including both their private and personal activities and their constitutionally protected political activities."

They "entered onto residential property" of at least four unionists, "where they tampered with said plaintiffs' mail boxes, and removed and examined letters." They used an "electronic listening device on at least one occasion to intercept conversations between plaintiffs."

In addition to their contact with the FBI, Lockheed's spies "conspired with . . . and obtained assistance from, Captain Brad Pope of the Cobb County Police Department's Intelligence Division."

## Lockheed's 'hit list'

The end result of this investigation was to finger 15 unionists as members or supporters of the Socialist Workers Party. Their employment applications were gone over with a fine-tooth comb. In every case except one — plaintiff Tom Fiske — Lockheed was able to find at least one alleged inaccuracy.

Everyone looking for work fills out company application forms to make themselves as attractive to the employer as possible.



Many workers at Georgia Solidarity Day starting in factories that have contracts

This is especially true with today's double-digit unemployment. It is no surprise Lockheed was confident that an intensive search would uncover inaccuracies on the applications of these unionists.

These workers had already demonstrated they were completely capable of doing their jobs. "Plaintiffs performed their jobs at average or above-average levels," the complaint points out. "Some plaintiffs even received 'outstanding' marks in company reviews of job performance."

Lockheed's goal in scouring the unionists' applications was to find an excuse to fire them. The complaint charges that "these discoveries were not made as a result of any routine or random check of all employees' applications, or in the ordinary course of business, but rather were made only as a result of the investigation complained of herein, and were to be used as pretexts for terminating plaintiffs' employment."

The complaint charges that in past instances when Lockheed has come upon inaccuracies in job applications, it "has either not disciplined such employees or has taken disciplinary action against them short of discharge."

But Lockheed fired 14 of these targeted unionists over a one month period. Tom Fiske — whom they didn't fire — knew his every step would be watched.

## Lockheed broke contract

The firings put every unionist in the plant on notice — they could be next. The complaint summarizes "FBI Bob" Lang's sworn deposition testimony that "if provided with names of employees suspected of being SWP members in the future, the company's security investigators would investigate said employees for the purpose of determining their membership in the SWP."

And, if they could get away with it, Lockheed would fire them.

The 15 unionists' lawsuit charges that



International Association of Machinists political ideas.

## DEFENDING POLITICAL RIGHTS ON THE JOB

### Attack on Workers' Rights: The Fight Against Government/Company Victimization

A new pamphlet from Pathfinder press. By John Studer, executive director of the Political Rights Defense Fund. \$75. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014. Please include \$75 for postage and handling.



Demonstration, January 16, understood that firing of 15 Lockheed workers was aimed at all union activists. Many signed petitions in support of these unionists. The government is h the Pentagon to gain a precedent against the democratic rights of working people.

"defendant Lockheed breached its collective bargaining agreement with plaintiffs and their union." Lockheed did this "by investigating plaintiffs and by conducting surveillance of them on the job, in their private lives and at union meetings on the basis of plaintiffs' legitimate union and political beliefs and activities, and by conspiring with others to do the same."

The complaint asserts that "as a direct result of the company's breach of the collective bargaining agreement," 14 of the plaintiffs "suffered thereby loss of employment, and all income, fringe benefits and seniority rights." All 15 IAM members suffered invasion of their privacy and "loss of their good names and reputations."

The complaint demands "an order enjoining defendant Lockheed to reinstate" the fired unionists "to their former jobs, or to jobs at the same or higher grades and pay levels."

This count of the lawsuit is based on a 1967 U.S. Supreme Court ruling which set the precedent for unionists taking their boss to court for antilabor contract violations. However, this ruling also placed certain requirements on unionists who bring such suits.

The court noted that unionists already had a way to fight such victimizations — through the grievance procedure. To also take them to court, they explained, would subject the employer to a form of double jeopardy. Therefore, they ruled that a "wrongfully discharged employee" can take his boss to court only "provided the employee can prove that the union as bargaining agent breached its duty of fair representation in its handling of the employee's grievance."

Because of this ruling, the Atlanta IAM members can win back their jobs, and fight against company harassment of unionists, only by pointing out deficiencies in the way their grievances were handled by the officers of their IAM local lodge.



bers fired for their union activity and



The complaint explains that "all plaintiffs filed timely grievances . . . protesting the company's surveillance of themselves at home, on the job and at union meetings." The fired unionists' grievances "claimed that the company had used the pretextual grounds of falsifications on job applications to discharge them without just cause."

#### Union officials' role

Lodge 709 officers refused to pursue these grievances seriously. Even when provided with Lang's sworn testimony and company files showing that the investigation was discriminatory, "no union official made any effort to establish plaintiffs' claims that the company's actions against them had been based on political and/or union activities, and that the grounds of falsification of job applications had been mere pretexts for discharges without just cause in violation of the collective bargaining agreement."

The grievances the local officers did bring were handled in "a perfunctory and irresponsible manner." Finally, they "refused to certify any of the plaintiffs' grievances to arbitration." The grievance procedure had led to a dead end for these unionists.

Union officers made these decisions because of their "hostility" to these unionists' views. The complaint cites the case of one business agent who went so far as to make "statements to the effect that socialists such as plaintiffs did not deserve to be members of the union because of their political beliefs."

Because of this hostility, their handling of the grievances was "wrongful, arbitrary, discriminatory and in bad faith." Therefore, "in so handling plaintiffs' grievances the union breached its duty of fair representation." This breach left the 15 unionists no choice but to take Lockheed to court to win back their jobs.

At the same time, the unionists are not suing their union officials or seeking any damages from them. This is a conscious choice. It was the company, not politically hostile union officers, that spied on the IAM members and fired them. It is only Lockheed that can reinstate the unionists. And it is Lockheed that should pay the damages.

A victory for these fired unionists would strengthen the union and its ability to halt Lockheed's antilabor snooping and victimizations.

#### Conspiracy

The second illegal act committed by Lockheed, its agents and its informers, was to conspire to violate the constitutional rights of the targeted unionists. The civil rights statute outlawing such conspiracies has been widely used over the last 25 years to halt racist attacks on Black rights.

In addition to the 10 defendants, the complaint lists as coconspirators at least two "other persons not named as defendants" — FBI Special Agent John Donahue and Cobb County Police Captain Brad Pope.

All are charged with conspiring "with the intent to and purpose of directly or indirectly depriving all of the plaintiffs of equal protection of the laws" because of their "political and union beliefs." This conspiracy aimed to curtail their "rights to freedom of speech and association," rights guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution.

The conspirators collaborated together, planned or carried out the entire trail of illegal spying, mail tampering, trespassing and electronic surveillance described in the complaint. Ultimately, this conspiracy led to the illegal firings of the 14 IAM members.

This section of the complaint asks for court orders restoring the unionists' jobs and enjoining Lockheed from any further unconstitutional acts.

Violating the unionists' civil rights entails heavy money penalties for the conspirators. This count of the lawsuit demands \$2.95 million in damages to pay the unionists for their losses and as a deterrent to any future victimizations by Lockheed or its accomplices.

#### Lockheed spying

The final count of the lawsuit invokes Georgia privacy laws. The complaint calls Lockheed and its investigators to order for spying on the unionists, "intruding into their private and political affairs and associations," and "placing plaintiffs in a false light in the public eye."

Under this count the unionists demand \$150,000 in compensatory damages.

The complaint concludes with a demand for a jury trial. It was signed and submitted by David Marshall and William Rucker, the two attorneys for the unionists. Marshall is on the staff of the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) in New York, which is raising funds and organizing public support for the lawsuit. Rucker is a lawyer in private practice in Atlanta.

A national defense campaign by the labor movement and all defenders of political rights is needed to back up this lawsuit. This is the only way to mobilize the public pressure needed to stop such antilabor victimizations and win the IAM members' jobs back.

The big employers, their "security" managers and think tanks, DIS, and the FBI are all watching this case. If they feel they can get away with spying on union meetings and the private lives and political associations of union activists, such acts will spread.

Any time any employer or the government can reach into the unions and fire unionists because they don't like their ideas or activities, the entire union movement is under attack.

Protest messages demanding reinstatement of the Lockheed unionists can be sent to Robert Ormsby, President, Lockheed-Georgia, #86 South Cobb Drive, Marietta, Ga., 30060.

Copies and financial contributions to aid the lawsuit should be sent to PRDF, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y., 10003.

## Labor support grows for fired workers

BY FRED WHITE

ATLANTA, Ga. — Support is growing for the lawsuit filed by 15 members of IAM Lodge 709 against Lockheed-Georgia.

Mike Pennock, one of the fired Lockheed unionists, recently spoke before a meeting of the Joint Executive Board of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) here. Pennock explained how the Lockheed firings aim to weaken the union there, and threaten to set a precedent for company and government collaboration against unionists everywhere.

The AFSCME leaders were especially interested in how Lockheed sent its spies to union meetings and snooped on individual union activists. The Joint Executive Board voted to endorse the Lockheed unionists' fight, and to contribute \$100 to the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) to help support the case.

Tom Fiske, a plaintiff in the lawsuit who is still employed at Lockheed, told the *Militant* that the suit has won wide support from Lockheed workers. The night the suit was filed, he reports, "I was on the night shift. When I went to the tool crib, the attendant had a big grin on his face. He had heard about the suit from other workers. He thought the suit was great."

"Three of my co-workers took the time to read the 27-page complaint. They thought the case was very strong."

"Many of my co-workers support the case because of how they view the company — that it has harassed them and pushed them around."

"One of my co-workers, who has worked at Lockheed for 19 years, told me: 'For years the company harassed me with threats of disciplinary action. They want to treat us like robots, keep us in our places, and deprive us of any rights. Your suit might help force the company to treat us like human beings, not machines.'"

Last week, two supporters of the Lockheed unionists got a warm reception from 150 members of United Auto Workers Local 34. Those unionists, who work at General Motors' Lakewood, Georgia, Assembly Plant, were in Atlanta to attend a hearing in a federal class action suit brought by members of General Motors Employees Against Racial Discrimination.

The GM workers had just won a case charging GM with racist promotion practices. The group's leaders knew all about the Lockheed case, and many of the workers attending the hearing went out of their way to express solidarity with the fired Lockheed unionists.

In November, fired Lockheed unionists are scheduled to speak to meetings of Service Employees International Union Local 579, Amalgamated Transit Workers Union Local 1238, and a local of the American Federation of Government Employees.



Militant/Holly Harkness

Women miners (left to right) Brenda Wansik, Sandy Dorsey, Diane Smith, and Mary Lou Duffy.

BY CLARE FRAENZL  
AND KATHY MICKELLS

WHEELING, W. Va. — After discovering that foremen at Shoemaker No. 9 mine had drilled a hole into their shower room and spied on them for two years, eight women coal miners decided to take on Consolidated Coal (Consol) and filed suit. On October 1, the eight women won an out-of-court settlement against the nation's second largest coal company.

Discussing their victory in an interview with the *Militant*, miner Diane Smith said, "I didn't care if I got a penny out of it. The main objective was to have all this exposed so the public would know this is what goes on."

Eddi Mayfield, another of the plaintiffs, explained that Consol spent over half a million dollars trying to quash their case. This included slanderous accusations that the women had themselves invited sexual harassment on the job, and in fact provoked it.

"They tried to degrade each and every one of us," explained Sandy Dorsey. "Instead of us being the plaintiffs and them being the defendants, we felt like we were on trial. Our whole lives were opened up."

Faced with this, Dorsey said, "it took a lot more courage than I realized" to continue the fight against Consol. But, she added, "We did what we had to do. Our objective was to make the company pay and admit there was something wrong. And to make other women realize they don't have to put up with this; they can do something about it."

Mary Lou Duffy explained that the original lawsuit, asking for \$5.5 million in damages, was filed on grounds of invasion of privacy alone. But the judge ruled the women had to bring in all the company's sexual harassment to prove the scope of their charges. The plaintiffs, in addition to Duffy, Dorsey, Mayfield, and Smith were Bonnie Means, Judy Simmons, Darla Baker, and Brenda Wansik.

Wansik described to the *Militant* the conditions she had faced at the Shoemaker mine, which is outside Wheeling. Twenty-one women got jobs at Shoemaker after a successful suit forced Consol to begin hiring women in 1977. Only eight remain today.

While she worked there, Wansik said, "I was attacked by one foreman and several of the foremen were always harassing me,

asking me out and telling me all kinds of sexual things they did to women. I didn't know what to say. I thought if I stood up and complained they would just get rid of me."

"I went to the personnel director. He told me to 'sway like a willow tree'; there wasn't much he could do about it. So I put up with it for four years and then I quit. He had all the papers ready. He just said, 'Sign here.'"

Smith was nearly fired after a 250-pound foreman grabbed her and stuffed wood ants down the front of her shirt.

"I had trouble getting away from him," she said. "I was crying and started to walk out of the mine. He threatened to fire me for leaving the section without permission."

The *Militant* asked the women if they had tried to go to their United Mine Workers (UMW) local for help. "I was scared even to report my boss for trying to kiss me or pat my butt," said Duffy. "I'd never worked in a mine before. I thought if I go report that boss, he could get me killed underground and nobody would be the wiser."

Mayfield added, "It was drilled into our

heads: you got to put up with it. You're here and don't rock the boat."

Dorsey explained, "We've never had a union behind us before. We really didn't know how effective they are on defending your job when you have stuff like this happen."

Ed Bell, president of UMW District 6, attended the court hearings in the suit to show his support. Union officials "didn't take an active part in this, but they did say the union was backing us," said Dorsey. "They didn't offer us any assistance because they said it wasn't work-related."

Smith observed, "I would say 80 percent of the union men were for us. Some were against us, because it was their opinion that we weren't supposed to be there anyway. And you don't sue the company."

She added, "Women don't have anyone to turn to. I think it would help to have a woman on the mine or safety committee." She plans to run for union office in the next election.

Dorsey said she would like to get more involved in women's organizations, too. Both the National Organization for Women and the Coal Employment Project offered the women assistance in their suit.

Duffy and Mayfield attended the Fourth Annual Women Miners' Conference sponsored by the Coal Employment Project last June. They plan to organize a workshop for the next conference to help other women with similar problems.

The *Militant* asked the women what impact they thought the case had. "It has made a change in there," said Dorsey. "They are treating women differently."

Duffy added, "I think this case is going to set a lot of precedents. I think women are going to open up and come out of their shells about a lot of things that have been happening. Our lawyer has had at least 10 phone calls a day on similar cases, and not just in the coal mines, but in other industries too."

Dorsey said, "I think women have the right to take these people to court. They just haven't had the courage."

"We took the first step," Duffy concluded.

## Police murder of Black youth causes outrage

BY DAVE WYLLIE

BAKERSFIELD, Calif. — Columbus "Pooky" Holford, an 18-year-old Black man, was killed by cops here October 11 on Lakeview Avenue.

Residents agreed that Holford had never done anything worse than hang around.

There isn't much else to do on Lakeview, the heart of Bakersfield's Black ghetto; it's a bleak 2-mile strip of boarded-up shops and burned-down bungalows, where unemployment, an incredible 70 percent, is more oppressive even than the heat of the San Joaquin Valley.

Holford was walking on Lakeview when two white cops demanded that he show them identification.

He didn't have any, and he was afraid. He walked into a nearby auto body shop. The cops followed him inside.

"They didn't say anything to him," the owner of the body shop said. "They didn't read him his rights, or nothing. They just started knocking him around."

He pointed to a large hole in the wall of the shop. "They threw him against the wall so hard, his head did that."

Still on the floor was a nightstick, broken in two when a cop hit Holford with it.

The police claim Holford, by this time battered, managed to disarm a cop. Eyewitnesses deny this as a police fabrication. Everyone agrees, however, that cop Bruce Adair fired his service revolver point-blank into Holford, who staggered to the door, where Adair shot him twice more.

In minutes, hundreds of outraged Black residents poured onto Lakeview. Police sent a dozen squad cars but withdrew when confronted by angry residents. Asked by the media why Holford had been stopped, police claimed he was a suspect in an assault, but they refused to give details. It was clear they were covering up a racist murder.

That night, more than 100 Black residents met at a small community hall. One after another, they related accounts of police brutality and harassment.

Young Black men were beaten by cops

because they wore their hair in dreadlocks.

There were accounts of warrantless searches without cause, and reports of Black women being raped by cops. Residents described the outrage they felt at the sight of cops with high-powered rifles, standing on rooftops along Lakeview like snipers in a combat zone.

It was apparent that Holford's murder was only the latest example of racism in Bakersfield.

"Our damn state assemblyman is a member of the John Birch Society," one man shouted; "the head of the California KKK (Ku Klux Klan) lives just up the road. The cops are trained to murder Black people. I want to know when we're going to do something about it."

Several suggestions were made on what to do, but the crowd found them inadequate.

The chair, who was head of the local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People called for contributions to the NAACP for legal action against the police.

A preacher urged people to register to vote. The middle-aged head of a community betterment society called on young men to clean up garbage in the streets.

The meeting ended at 9 p.m. with the chair pleading for people to "stay calm." A substantial part of the body had walked out, angered by the limited perspectives they heard.

Meanwhile, at the body shop on Lakeview, the owner still hadn't gone home. He was on his hands and knees, trying to scrub the last of Columbus Holford's blood off the floor.

## Illinois rail workers discuss contract

BY MARK BURROUGHS  
AND JIM MILES

NORTHLAKE, Ill. — Two hundred brakemen, conductors, and enginemen, all members of United Transportation Union (UTU) Locals 528 and 577, met here in early October to hear and talk about the proposed new nationwide contract covering wages and operating rules.

It was one of the largest joint meetings ever; we were especially interested in learning about any threat to eliminate cabooses.

The UTU, like the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers (BLE), had worked without a contract since April 1981. The UTU reached a tentative agreement with the carriers shortly before the BLE's four-day strike in September. This agreement will be voted on by UTU local chairmen throughout the country.

Our union locals, whose members work on the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad, like others in the rail crafts, supported the BLE. Many Chicago brakemen and clerks joined the picket line before

Congress broke the BLE strike, forcing the engineers to accept a contract subject to rulings by a federal emergency board.

A lot of rail jobs have been eliminated; of 600,000 nine years ago, there are 400,000 left. The loss has largely been caused by reductions in the size of crews from three brakemen to two, or even one.

The pattern for this assault on our jobs has been set by the nonunion Florida East Coast (FEC) line, which, like the Milwaukee Road, has been running trains without cabooses.

Also contributing to layoffs has been the elimination of small branch lines.

The report on the proposed new contract was delivered by the general chairman, Gerald (G.R.) Maloney.

The first half of the meeting dealt with raises, benefits, and retroactive pay. Finally the elimination of cabooses came up.

After describing the terms of the new agreement, Maloney said that more derailments would result from caboose eliminations. He speculated that these could force the carriers to put some cabooses back on,

although this hasn't happened following derailments on either the FEC or Milwaukee Road.

Elimination of cabooses will mean increased injuries, more loss of lives, and greater dangers to public safety when cars containing hazardous materials are derailed.

### Subscribe to the Young Socialist

Bimonthly revolutionary youth paper covers the fight against Washington's wars and racism, the struggle for women's liberation, and the fight for a socialist world.

\$1 for half-year  
\$3 for one year

14 Charles Lane  
New York, New York 10014

# Speeches at New York meeting on Poland hurt struggle of Solidarity unionists

BY CINDY JAQUITH

NEW YORK — A meeting publicized as "An Evening in Support of Solidarnosc" drew more than 200 people here October 22.

Sponsored by a group called the Solidarity Committee, the forum's featured speakers were Paul Sweezy, editor of *Monthly Review*; Paul Robeson, Jr.; peace activist Daniel Berrigan; Irish freedom figure Bernadette Devlin McAliskey; Anthony Mazzocchi, former vice-president of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers (OCAW); and Marta Petrusewicz, a former activist in the Polish student movement.

The forum occurred in the wake of strikes and street protests by Polish workers in Gdansk, Nowa Huta, and other cities after the Solidarity union was banned by the Polish regime.

The ban served as the pretext for President Reagan to suspend Poland's most-favored-nation trade status, an attack on Polish workers and farmers under the guise of supporting them. AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland responded by demanding that Reagan do more — that he call Poland's bank loans into default to force the country into bankruptcy.

## Sanctions not mentioned

While several speakers correctly termed Reagan a hypocrite on Poland, no one on the platform spoke out against his new economic attacks on the Polish working people, which also hurt U.S. workers and farmers. The sanctions were not even mentioned. Nor did any speaker condemn Kirkland's call for even tougher measures.

Former OCAW official Mazzocchi spoke briefly. He said Solidarity's struggle is more difficult today "than our own struggles against entrenched bureaucracies."

Mazzocchi also said he was "appalled when I hear politicians speak of the necessity of a free trade union movement in Poland, but at the same time support actions to bar rail strikers from exercising their right to strike."

McAliskey, who also gave brief remarks, said, "Poland is showing us the way — in terms of courage, in terms of method, in terms of its ideology, in terms of its dignity." She said the fight for freedom in Poland, Ireland, and other parts of the world cannot be intimidated or rolled back. In addition, she called for a united movement in the United States around Poland, Ireland, South Africa, and other international struggles.

Marta Petrusewicz, who is now a professor at Princeton University, was the only speaker to deal at any length with the struggle in Poland. She alone took up the current treason trials of Polish opposition leader Jacek Kuron and others, and the ongoing trials of workers there. She urged people to demand that all the trials be open and that observers and lawyers from what she termed the "democratic countries" be permitted to attend.

## An advance for humanity?

The main political thrust of the meeting, however, was not how to aid the workers in Poland. Rather, the theme was to reject the idea that the overturn of capitalism in countries like the Soviet Union or Poland has marked an advance for world humanity.

Paul Sweezy posed a question in his talk: "Are the Soviet-bloc countries socialist?" He answered, no.

Sweezy did not define what he meant by socialist, nor did he explain which countries he considers to be in the "Soviet bloc."

"The crucial test," he argued, "is not whether these countries conform to certain ideal types defined by a set of abstract criteria, but by the way they reacted in practice to the rise in Poland of an authentic, independent working-class movement."

The response to Poland, he declared, proves that all the "Soviet-bloc countries" have now "hardened into new hierarchical structures of power and authority." He didn't explain if this meant a new class now rules in these countries, or whether he includes all states that have abolished

capitalism, even Cuba, in his list.

But he did say: "None of the societies that have developed over the last 200 years — either as capitalist societies or through revolutions of a socialist character — has come up with anything very brilliant. . . . That's where Solidarity seemed possibly to be paving the way. Now that hope — for the moment at any rate — has been crushed."

Sweezy concluded by saying, "You now have this problem of two blocs, each led by a superpower, which are determined to maintain the status quo as far as their power-privilege structures are concerned. This is the most depressing and dangerous aspect of the world today."

"Our only hope," he said in closing, "is a very long revolution, a very long revolution . . . if we are permitted to survive long enough to do it, if the two superpowers don't blow up the world in the meantime, which unfortunately they have the capacity to do."

His view on "superpowers" was echoed by the other major speaker of the night, Paul Robeson, Jr. Robeson called for introducing the issue of Poland into the U.S. struggle against Washington's war drive. "Who will march again, in any peace demonstration in this country or anywhere else in the West, without holding high the banner of support to Solidarity?" he asked.

But to do so would no more aid the Polish workers than it would further the cause of world peace. It could only divert attention from the real threat to peace — the warmakers in Washington and their imperialist allies — and add fuel to the U.S. rulers' anticommunist justifications for military intervention.

In the present context of escalating U.S. military involvement in Central America, it would serve to bolster Washington's asserted need to contain the "subversion" of Cuba and Nicaragua, said to be Soviet "proxies" in that region.

## Attack on Bolsheviks

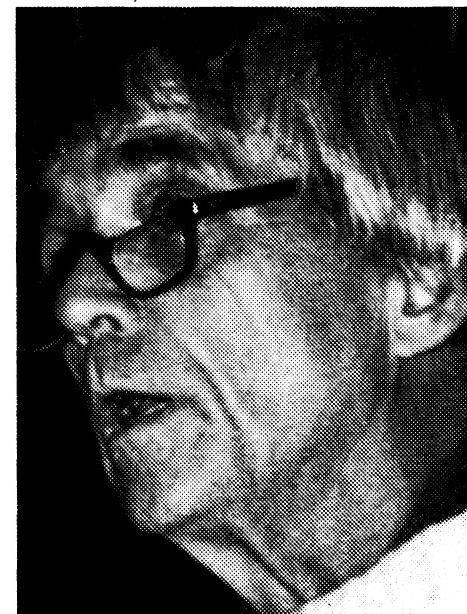
In his speech winding up the whole meeting, Robeson leveled an attack on the October 1917 Russian revolution and the Bolshevik Party led by Lenin.

Robeson explained that the first attempt of the workers to take power was in the Paris Commune of 1871. This effort was drowned in blood. Then in 1917, he explained, "the workers of Petrograd took power in October under the slogan 'All power to the soviets.' They held it for a few months, and again it flickered and seemed to go out."

Robeson didn't specify what he saw as the turning point in the Russian revolution, how the workers lost power, or what class gained it. But his remarks were a clear attack on Lenin, Leon Trotsky, and the team of Bolsheviks who led the revolution in its early years.

Robeson even shamelessly tried to claim that the Polish communist leader Rosa Luxemburg also opposed the October 1917 revolution.

The fact is that Luxemburg was a staunch defender of the revolution and



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

Daniel Berrigan's attack on U.S. labor movement went unanswered at meeting.



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

Paul Robeson, Jr., said Russian workers lost power a few months after October 1917 revolution.

gave her life struggling to repeat in Germany what the Bolsheviks had done in Russia. She was murdered in 1919 by German authorities in collusion with social-democratic leaders, who, like the imperialists, attacked the young Russian revolution as "dictatorial" and "antidemocratic."

## 'Selfish, money-grubbing' workers

While there was no visible reaction in the audience against the anti-Leninist, anti-Marxist tenor of these speeches, some were clearly shocked when Daniel Berrigan spoke.

Berrigan counterposed Polish Solidarity to the "violence, money-grubbing, and selfishness" he said characterize the American people. Without making a distinction between the workers and the misleadership of the U.S. trade-union movement, he condemned "American labor's collusion with 35 years of war" and its "long, cowardly silence regarding American war crimes in Vietnam."

"Most horrific of all," he said, "American labor is supplying the workforce for nuclear war."

"In 1968," he said, "I was convicted for an act of resistance against the horror of the war in Vietnam by a working-class jury. Thanks to them, I spent two years in federal prison."

He concluded by condemning the "war-making labor movement" and workers employed in industries with Pentagon contracts, charging them with the "indecent complicity of blood money."

A few people hissed at the end of Berrigan's talk while most applauded. But no speaker on the platform said a word to dissociate themselves from Berrigan's anti-labor diatribe.

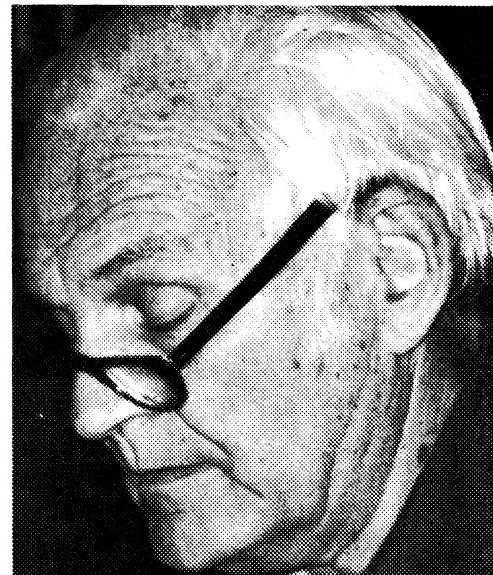
The overall political message of the forum stemmed from the outlook of the group that organized it, the Solidarity Committee. Its Statement of Purpose explains the committee is a "multi-issue organization" that fights "repressive and authoritarian systems that rule here and abroad."

As the statement indicates, the committee makes no class distinction between imperialist countries like the United States; workers states, where a socialist revolution has occurred and capitalism has been abolished, like the Soviet Union, Poland, or Cuba; and nations that suffer colonial oppression and exploitation.

This approach of denying the class differences, which the speeches by Sweezy and Robeson amplified, is a giant obstacle to defending the Polish workers.

Explaining the true facts about Poland — that workers there have expropriated the bosses and nationalized the factories and mills — is one of the most important things revolutionaries in the United States can do to aid the struggle in Poland. One of the biggest lies used against Solidarity — by the Reagan administration and the Polish regime alike — is that it is trying to return to capitalism, bosses, and private ownership.

No, the Polish workers are fighting for



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

Paul Sweezy argued world is threatened by two 'superpowers': Soviet Union and United States.

workers control of the economy, government, and society against a bureaucratic regime that has excluded them from political power.

Explaining this goes hand-in-hand with mobilizing U.S. workers against each and every move by the U.S. imperialists and their allies to weaken the workers states and the world socialist revolution, whether it be trade sanctions or military moves under the threat of combating the "Soviet threat."

## Complicit or resisting?

Marxists believe the prospects for doing this today are greater than ever before. Far from being complicit with the bipartisan war drive, as Berrigan would have it, U.S. workers are increasingly resisting the U.S. rulers' wars at home and abroad. This is shown by the massive antiwar march last June 12 and by the current battle of Chrysler workers to bust out of the straitjacket of concession-bargaining. But neither of these two examples were mentioned at the meeting.

Nor was a representative of the Marxist point of view invited to speak. The New York Socialist Workers Party offered to provide a speaker, but organizers ignored the request. SWP supporters were told they could not set up a literature table in the meeting hall; that no tables would be inside.

However, two political tendencies were allowed to have tables in the meeting hall, while all others were relegated to the street outside. These tendencies were the International Socialists, which holds that all workers states in the world are actually capitalist countries, and Workers Power, a group that sponsors the quarterly journal, *Against the Current*.

The Spring 1982 issue of *Against the Current*, on sale at the meeting, carries a lengthy article on Poland that assails Solidarity leader Lech Walesa and Jacek Kuron for "limiting the revolution."

SWP and Young Socialist Alliance members participated in the meeting and distributed literature outside, including the latest issue of the *Militant*, with its lead editorial titled "Polish workers fight on — despite false friends."

The editorial pointed out that the Democratic and Republican parties "are no friends of the working people in Poland." Nor, it argued, are union officials who join their anticommunist campaign.

"Instead of calling for economic sanctions, the labor movement ought to be campaigning *against* them. The AFL-CIO ought to be insisting on the lifting of all trade restrictions on trade with the workers states, including an immediate end to the criminal economic blockades against Cuba and Vietnam," the editorial said.

"The AFL-CIO could provide some real aid to the Polish workers and farmers by opposing the U.S. military buildup in Europe and elsewhere in the world."

"This is the kind of real solidarity that would benefit embattled workers on both sides of the Atlantic."

# Nobel Prize writer García Marquez: voice for justice in Latin America

BY FRED MURPHY

In awarding the 1982 Nobel Prize for Literature to Colombian novelist Gabriel García Márquez, author of *One Hundred Years of Solitude* and other works, the Swedish Academy of Letters cited the "graphically convincing authenticity" of his work, which "reflects a continent and its human riches and poverty."

Few Latin American authors have been so honored, despite the region's rich literary tradition. Certainly no other Latin American writer's fiction is as widely read and appreciated by the continent's working people as that of García Márquez.

This is because his works reflect something else that the Swedish judges also took due note of: García Márquez "is strongly committed politically on the side of the poor and the weak against domestic oppression and foreign economic exploitation."

In *One Hundred Years of Solitude* — which has now been translated into 17 different languages — García Márquez chronicles the history of his own country, and, in a way, that of all Latin America, as seen through the experiences of a family in the fictional Caribbean town of Macondo. Filtered into the imaginative and often fantastic imagery of the author are the Spanish colonial heritage, the civil wars of the 19th century, the corrupt rule of the landowners and capitalists, the servility of the latter before U.S. imperialist domination.

## Massacres and coverups

A central event fictionalized in *One Hundred Years of Solitude* is the 1928 massacre of hundreds of banana workers striking against the United Fruit Company in Ciénaga, Colombia. In the novel, collective amnesia strikes the survivors, who regard as insane one eyewitness who says, "There must have been three thousand" dead.

In a 1968 interview, García Márquez af-

firmed the credibility of the figure: "What happens in Latin America is that an occurrence like 3,000 dead is forgotten by decree. What seems fantastic has been extracted from the most miserable everyday reality." The current slaughter in El Salvador and Guatemala and the efforts of the U.S.-backed regimes there to cover it up drive home the truth of the author's words.

*The Autumn of the Patriarch* — which García Márquez considers his most important work — brings together in a single grotesque portrait all the abominable features of Latin America's most notorious dictators, from "Papa Doc" Duvalier of Haiti to the Somozas of Nicaragua.

In his latest novel, *Chronicle of a Death Foretold* (soon to be published in English), García Márquez draws on an incident from his youth to portray the tragic consequences of the sexual oppression of Latin American women.

## Defends Nicaragua

The Nobel judges have not only done justice to a great writer and to Latin American culture in awarding the 1982 literature prize to García Márquez. They have also called attention to an active fighter for social justice and revolutionary causes.

In his first statements to reporters upon learning that he had received the Nobel Prize, García Márquez took immediate advantage of the publicity to denounce Washington's mounting threats against the Nicaraguan revolution. Citing reports of the massive U.S.-Honduran military maneuvers planned for December, the new laureate warned that the Reagan administration was preparing "perhaps the worst thing the United States has done in Latin America in the past 20 years. There could be a war of unheard-of consequences and proportions."

The statement was characteristic of García Márquez. He has been a staunch defender of the Cuban revolution from the beginning, and a firm supporter of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua as well.

In 1960, García Márquez helped to found the Cuban news agency Prensa Latina. He served as its correspondent in New York and later in Colombia. As a result, the U.S. State Department denied him entry to this country for 10 years, on the false ground that he was "a member of the communist or affiliated party." Even now, García Márquez is denied a U.S. visa and must obtain a special waiver from the State Department each time he wishes to enter the United States.

## Cuba's example

García Márquez is a frequent visitor to Cuba and a personal friend of Cuban leader Fidel Castro. He has pointed to Cuba as an example that "offers very good possibilities for a more just and democratic social order" in Latin America.

In reporting García Márquez's Nobel Prize, the *New York Times* alleged that the author "had reservations about life" in Cuba. In a recent book of interviews published in Colombia (*El Olor de la Guayaba*), García Márquez explains that Cuba's difficulties and shortcomings result from "the incomprehension and hostility of the United States, which is not content to allow this example just 90 miles from Florida. It is not the fault of the Soviet Union, without whose aid (whatever the reasons or motives) the Cuban revolution would not exist today. So long as that [U.S.] hostility persists, Cuba's situation can only be judged as a state of emergency that forces it to live on the defensive, outside its cultural, geographic, and historical environment."

García Márquez's solidarity is keenly appreciated by the leaders of the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions. After Cuba rushed military aid and troops to defend newly independent Angola against a massive U.S.-



'If there existed a Nobel Prize for Death,' notes Colombian novelist Gabriel García Márquez, 'Begin and Sharon would have it sewed up.'

backed invasion by South African apartheid forces in 1975-76, García Márquez was asked to write the first full history of that endeavor for the Cuban press. (His article is included as an appendix to the volume *Fidel Castro Speeches*, available for \$7.95 from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014 or from the bookstores listed on page 17.)

The Colombian author was an honored guest at the third-anniversary celebrations of the Nicaraguan revolution last July. While in Nicaragua, he conducted a lively broadcast discussion with the listeners of Radio Sandino, who jammed the studio's telephones with questions about his literary works and political views.

## Death-squad threats

García Márquez's political stance on the side of the oppressed has roused the ire of reactionaries in his own country. In March 1981 he was forced to seek asylum in the Mexican embassy in the Colombian capital, Bogotá, after reports circulated that he was wanted by the armed forces for smuggling weapons to Colombian guerrilla fighters. "I've never wielded any weapon but my typewriter," he said at the time.

In March of this year, García Márquez's name appeared near the top of a list of prospective victims circulated by the Colombian death squad known as the MAS. He responded with an article detailing the close ties such groups have had with the regime's armed forces and pointing out that they are "organized to fight political activities by illegal means, and to kill political opponents."

"Killing me would be the easiest thing in the world," García Márquez wrote. "The only thing I'd regret would be to fall victim to the most ham-fisted government my country has ever had in its entire history." After the Nobel award was announced, the

current Colombian president telephoned his congratulations to the exiled García Márquez in Mexico. The author now plans to return to Colombia and start a new daily newspaper.

## Denounces Beirut massacre

García Márquez concerns himself not only with the struggles of his own continent, but with all peoples who suffer oppression and exploitation. In a September 26 column in the Colombian daily *El Espectador*, for example, he denounced "the barbaric massacre of more than 1,000 Palestinian refugees" in Beirut. "If there existed a Nobel Prize for Death," he wrote, "Begin and Sharon would have it sewed up without rivals this year."

In that column García Márquez also expressed his dismay at the "almost unanimous silence" in face of the events in Lebanon on the part of West European intellectuals who only months before had been loudly protesting the imposition of martial law in Poland.

Ever since touring the countries of Eastern Europe as a young journalist in the 1950s, García Márquez has been a partisan of the fight by working people there for democracy against the entrenched, privileged bureaucracies. He denounced the 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia and hailed the recent upsurge of the Polish workers against bureaucratic rule.

## Read the books

Academic critics often present García Márquez's stories and novels as difficult or surrealistic. In fact, they are a joy to read. As the author told a young Nicaraguan who called Radio Sandino's talk-show last summer, "Don't pay attention to the critics. Read the books, understand what they say, and it is absolutely certain that what you get out of them is what the author wanted to say."

## San Francisco labor march

### Continued from Page 1

Ed Asner, president of the Screen Actors Guild, received the biggest ovation of the rally. He is best known for playing the newspaper editor in the TV show "Lou Grant." The show was recently canceled after Ed Asner publicly raised funds for medical supplies for the working people and farmers of El Salvador battling the military dictatorship there. Asner cited the "symbols of power and profession" represented by the banks, corporate headquarters, and government buildings the march had passed on Market Street. "We drive the buses, we cook the food, we produce all these goods and services. We are the foundations of all we see — but we do not own it," he said to applause.

ILWU president Jim Herman received the second biggest ovation when he concluded his speech "this march today is about solidarity and justice — economic justice, political justice, racial justice, and class justice. It's about peace and against nuclear war."

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland emphasized the theme many labor officials de-

veloped: "Vote Labor" in the November elections. This is presented as voting for the Democrats.

While some Democratic candidates were in attendance, none spoke. Supporters of Mel Mason, Socialist Workers Party leader and independent candidate for governor, distributed a statement explaining that he was running against the Democrats and Republicans because "they are the parties of the very rich that do not represent us. We need solidarity to help advance our struggle," Mason said. "We need our own party to build our fight politically. Working people are the overwhelming majority of the population. We have enormous power. We need to build our own party — a labor party — that is based on a fighting union movement that struggles to replace the present government of the rich with a workers and farmers government that would defend the interests of all the oppressed and exploited."

Summing up the meaning of the march, Jim Herman told the *Examiner*, "There is a lot of pressure from the bottom, a lot of discontent. They expect that their unions would take on a more militant stance."



## Fidel Castro Speeches

### Cuba's Internationalist Foreign Policy 1975-80

Since 1975, Cuba's foreign policy has deeply affected the course of world politics. Few of Castro's speeches are readily accessible in English. What does exist in print generally dates back to the 1960s or even earlier. This book represents a step toward filling that gap.

"Cuba in Angola" by Gabriel García Márquez, a noted Latin American author, is included as an appendix. It is the most complete account yet written of the Cuban role in Angola.

391 pp., \$7.95. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Include \$.75 for postage.

# 'Monetarism': an antilabor economic policy



Electric workers strike WABCO in Pittsburgh earlier this year. Organized labor is the biggest obstacle to capitalist economic policies.

BY WILLIAM GOTTLIEB

In capitalist circles, a doctrine dubbed "monetarism" has become increasingly popular. It has largely replaced the theories of British economist John Maynard Keynes as the dominant economic doctrine in the government and universities.

The chief advocate of monetarism is the archreactionary economist and Nobel Prize winner Prof. Milton Friedman. A close as-

## BEHIND THE RECESSION

sociate of Friedman and supporter of his views, Prof. George Stigler, has just been awarded the Nobel Prize in economic "science" for 1982. Friedman, Stigler, and their supporters are known as the "Chicago boys" (named for the University of Chicago where Friedman and Stigler taught for many years) have become notorious for their association with the Pinochet dictatorship in Chile.

### Monetarism

In a nutshell, Keynes favored social programs, financed when necessary by governmental deficits, as a means of containing social unrest during periods of high unemployment and recession.

There were always, however, capitalist economists who opposed the Keynesian policy of concessions to the working class. Among the most prominent of these after World War II was Milton Friedman.

Friedman argued that social programs were "too expensive." They required high taxes which threatened to eat into profits. And anything which reduces profits, of course, is bad for the bosses.

In addition Friedman and his ilk were worried that programs like unemployment insurance would prevent joblessness from putting the same downward pressure on wages as it did in the past. If a worker has some income when he or she was unemployed, the worker would not have to take just any job offer to avoid starvation. This would mean that wages would tend to be higher and profits would thus be lower than they might otherwise be.

### Rising expectations

The Friedmanites had broader objections as well.

If the working class came to expect that society owed them a job and basic subsistence when they were not able to work, the expectations of the workers would be raised. They would demand more and more social security, and guaranteed medical care.

But in the long run capitalism is incompatible with real social security. Without the fear of unemployment and poverty the system of wage slavery cannot, in the end, exist.

The bosses were always very favorably inclined to the views of Friedman and his

supporters. This is because Friedman did express their real material class interests.

But the class struggle forced the employers to make concessions to the working class. The Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) in this country (and unions and labor parties in other countries) had forced the bosses to yield ground.

In order to put Friedman's views into effect the capitalists would have had to take on powerful organizations of the working class. Such a major escalation of the class struggle would have unpredictable results. The workers fightback might force the employers to make additional concessions — or it might even lead to the overthrow of the capitalist system itself.

As long as capitalist prosperity continued — that is, as long as markets were expanding and profits were at record levels — the bosses preferred not to rock the boat. Of course, the class struggle continued. But the bosses limited themselves to probing attacks rather than a frontal assault required by the Friedman program.

### What is 'monetarism'?

But as crisis symptoms began to multiply in the world capitalist economy during the 1970s Friedman's stock began to soar. Over the last few years as the growing crisis has squeezed profit margins, academic and capitalist political opinion has swung towards the Friedman camp.

Friedman argues that government deficit spending is *not* necessary to counteract depression. Indeed he constantly urges less government spending in general (except for the Pentagon of course). Friedman claims that the capitalist economy can be kept on an even keel merely by having the central bank increase the money supply at the same rate as the long-term growth potential of the economy.

For example, according to Friedman, if the productivity of labor increases at an average of 3 percent per year and the workforce grows at 1.5 percent a year the long term growth potential of the economy will be 4.5 percent. Therefore, the Federal Reserve should increase the money supply by exactly 4.5 percent every year. In this way, Friedman claims, there would neither be inflation — since the supply of money would not grow any faster than the supply of goods — nor any serious recession — since there would always be enough money to circulate the expanding supply of commodities. Friedman's ideas are called "monetarist" because he believes that monetary policy, as opposed to fiscal policies stressed by Keynes, can stabilize the capitalist economy.

Friedman has written books attempting to prove that the Great Depression of the 1930s was caused not by any flaw in the capitalist economy but the failure of the Federal Reserve Board to maintain the supply of money.

Similarly, Friedman blames the inflation that has plagued capitalism since the end of the 1960s on the decision of the central banks of the capitalist countries to allow the supply of money to grow too fast.

In the last few years capitalist governments and central banks have been following policies similar to those advocated by Friedman. This is not because presidents, prime ministers, and central bankers have been suddenly convinced by logic of Friedman's arguments. It is because the pragmatic needs of the capitalist's private profit system demand it.

By the end of the 1970s inflation was threatening to get completely out of control. The only way to stave off this danger was to slow down the printing of additional money. However, the shift to a "tight money" policy meant driving already high interest rates higher, soaring bankruptcies, and double digit unemployment — in a word, severe recession.

Tight money has also forced the government to slash spending, since government borrowing of scarce funds means even more business failures when the supply of credit is limited. In addition, a depressed economy means fewer revenues are raised through taxes. Government deficits have thus mushroomed to proportions alarming to the capitalists. Since the bosses and their government need a massive military machine to keep down the workers and peasants of the world, it is social spending which is slashed.

### No stability

Friedman and his crew claim that the current period of mass unemployment will soon give way to stable prosperity without inflation — provided that the central banks follow the simple rule-of-thumb monetary policy described above.

If things were that simple the capitalist central bankers would have figured it out 100 years ago. After all, it shouldn't take a Nobel Prize winner to grasp the desirability of increasing the money supply at about the same rate as the increase in real wealth.

The truth is that the Friedman "theory" is simple quackery. The bulk of the money supply consists not of the cash issued by the central bank or government, but of checking accounts issued by the private banks who are guided by their relentless search for profit. Under normal circumstances the money supply will more or less equal the needs of the economy.

For example if business is booming, industrial corporations, merchants, and farmers will all borrow heavily from the banks in order to expand. Even workers will borrow more from the banks in order to purchase consumer goods. Additional checking accounts will be issued and the money supply will expand.

On the other hand, if the economy is in a depression there will be relatively little borrowing. Industrial corporations, merchants, etc. will feel overextended. They will seek to reduce their debts. Similarly, workers that are unemployed, or are afraid that they are about to be laid off, don't as a rule apply or receive loans for cars, appliances, or housing.

As bank loans are paid off the money valve of checking accounts contracts. Thus the money supply tends to stagnate, or even fall, during times of deep recession or depression.

### Stagflation

There may also be a period of "stagflation" when prices are rising rapidly but the economy is depressed. Here business will have to borrow just to maintain the existing level of production. The money supply will expand rapidly as industrial corporations and other businesses step up their borrow-

ing from the banks to meet rising costs. This condition has been common in the recent period.

In addition to these "normal" fluctuations in the supply of money, there are more violent ones that are associated with acute capitalist crises.

The banks maintain relatively little cash backing of their checking accounts. They instead loan it out in order to collect interest. If everybody tried to convert their checking accounts into cash, the banks would have to close their doors. The checking accounts would then not be able to function as money. Only cash itself could.

Under normal circumstances this does not happen. Except for petty sums and illegal transactions, checking accounts are safer and more convenient than cash.

However, during certain stages of acute capitalist crises of overproduction capitalists and other bank depositors fear that the banks will not be able to collect the money they have lent out. Depositors will then panic. Everybody tries to convert their checking accounts into cash before the bank runs out of money. Soon the bank does run out. Many checking accounts are thus wiped off the books. Credit is paralyzed. The money supply plunges. This happened during the early part of the Great Depression. Recently fears have mounted that another banking crash may be approaching.

It should be remembered that banking crashes are not the cause of depressions. Depressions occur under the capitalist system because the market cannot keep up with the development of production. Periodically, the disproportion between the level of production and the limited capacity of the market to absorb it, finds expression in a crisis of overproduction. Goods pile up unsold in warehouses. Production must then be slashed to restore its profitability for the capitalists.

Banking crises actually play a necessary role under capitalism. There comes a time when so much overproduction has occurred that a normal "recession" can no longer clear the market. A banking panic, by causing credit to dry up almost completely, forces business to radically reduce production. A major depression occurs, the market clears, and profitability is restored on the backs of the workers and farmers.

Of course, when faced with an imminent banking collapse, the Federal Reserve can always increase its cash issues. In this way bank depositors can be assured that their checking accounts will be convertible into cash on demand. The only catch is that they cannot be assured at the same time that the paper money with which they will be paid will buy anything. If the Federal Reserve doesn't "allow" a banking crash to occur sooner or later, a paralyzing wave of hyperinflation will sweep the globe.

This, by the way, is the real cause of the high inflation over the last decade. Again and again credit crunches have threatened to degenerate into full-scale banking panics. The Federal Reserve and other capitalist central banks have each time responded by increasing their inflationary issues of cash. The current wave of bankruptcies, debt reschedulings, and bank failures seems to be forcing the Federal Reserve to once again increase the supply of currency at an inflationary pace. This is what's behind the current "bull" market in stocks that is enriching brokers and speculators while more than 11 million are unemployed.

### The bankruptcy of capitalism

The truth is that all schools of capitalist economic thought that we have examined in this series, whether Keynesian, supply-siders, or monetarists are devoid of scientific value. They merely attempt to justify and prolong the rule of a class that has outlived its time.

Capitalist management of the economy has neither been able to ensure stable prices, maintain the level of industrial production, or avoid double-digit unemployment. Nor have the bosses and their government been able to provide many working farmers and other working people with a living income. Increasingly the employers are refusing to pay a bare subsistence to those they have forced into the misery of unemployment.



Milton Friedman

# THE GREAT SOCIETY

**Heart of gold** — Ron Reagan, Jr., was laid off for a month by the Joffrey Ballet and had to scrape by



**Harry Ring**

on unemployment insurance. He was immediately contacted by mom and dad with an offer to help, a White House spokesman announced, but he wanted to get

by on his own. Wouldn't it be nice if ol' Ron had a touch of the same tender concern for the 11,259,999 jobless?

**Balanced life** — According to *People* magazine, Cornelia Guest is the premier debutante of the season and she's having a ball — breakfast at 1 p.m., learning to throw dinner parties, etc. But she's also into charity. "I'm interested in some of the diseases," she says.

**CARE package** — Charges of U.S. indifference to the plight of Kampuchean refugees encamped on the Thai border were refuted by

an announcement from the University of California Med School in San Francisco. An anonymous donor, it was reported, had made it possible to ship one camp 15,000 condoms. All the people there have food, a spokesperson assured, and the women have been provided the pill. But, "think of all the young men trapped there with no outlet!"

**Hold the shallots** — After a report that the U.S. Marines now stationed in Lebanon aren't eating as well as their French counterparts, White Castle and Emery Air Freight joined in organizing a hamburger lift. The Navy cooper-

ated by reheating the burgers.

**Iffy question** — The Army sought a court order barring re-enlistment of a gay sergeant. They said he declined to answer questions about whether he intended to engage in future homosexual activities.

**The pushers** — American Tobacco has undertaken a multimillion-dollar drive to resurrect Lucky Strikes. R.J. Reynolds is test marketing a peppermint flavored cigarette. Meanwhile, it was reported in the *New England Journal of Medicine* that heavy smokers have a 25 percent greater

chance of contracting flu than nonsmokers.

**Makes world look rosy** — A U.S. entrepreneur obtained the trademark and formula for Usquaebach, a 20-year-old Scotch malt whiskey that goes for about \$50 a fifth. Despite the world economic situation, he expects to prosper. "The purchasers of Usquaebach," he explained, "don't appear to be worried about being laid off."

**"Worth"?** — "Any man who knows what he's worth isn't worth much." — The late oil tycoon, J. Paul Getty.

## CALENDAR

### ALABAMA

#### Jasper

**Why Not a Steelworker for Governor?** Speaker: Martin Boyers, Socialist Workers candidate for governor. Sat., Oct. 30, 6 p.m. Frisco Community Center, Crutchfield Blvd. (28th St. E). Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

### ARIZONA

#### Phoenix

**South Africa: White Rule, Black Revolt.** Film: *Last Grave at Dimbaza*. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Oct. 30, 7:30 p.m. 613 E Indian School Rd. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (602) 274-7399.

**Upsurge in the Middle East: The Iranian Revolution and Its Role Today.** Speaker: Hamid Sodeifi, Young Socialist Alliance. Translation in Spanish. Sat., Nov. 6, 7:30 p.m. 613 E Indian School Rd. Donation: \$1.50 Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (602) 274-7399.

#### Tucson

**U.S. Out of El Salvador.** Speaker: Jessica Sampson, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Congress District 2, member Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks. Translation into Spanish. Fri., Oct. 29, 7:30 p.m. El Rio Neighborhood Center, 1390 W Speedway. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (602) 622-3880.

### CALIFORNIA

#### Oakland

**Gala Banquet and Party: Celebrate With Mel Mason.** Speakers to be announced. Sat., Nov. 6; dinner, 6 p.m.; rally, 8 p.m. St. Augustine's Church, 29th St. and Telegraph Ave. Donation: \$10. Ausp: Mel Mason for Governor Campaign Committee. For more information call: Oakland (415) 763-3792, San Francisco (415) 824-1992, San Jose (408) 998-4007, Seaside (408) 394-1855.

### INDIANA

#### Gary

**Jobs Not War: Socialist Workers Campaign Rally.** Speakers: Jesse Smith, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress 1st District; others. Sat.,

### Visit Nicaragua

November 21-28  
Managua, Matagalpa,  
Granada, Masaya

The Militant-Perspectiva Mundial-Young Socialist Tours invites you to participate in our Fall Economy Study Tour to Nicaragua to view the accomplishments of the Nicaraguan revolution. Participants visit factories and agricultural communities; meet with activists from the unions, women's and youth organizations; learn about economic planning, health care, education, and the arts.

Study a young revolution striving to rebuild the country's economy while preparing to defend itself from imperialist threats.

\$675 includes: eight days, round-trip airfare from Miami, three meals daily, accommodations in Managua's new youth hostel, all transfers and guide services.

For application and information contact Militant-Perspectiva Mundial-Young Socialist Tours, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014; or call (212) 929-3486.

Oct. 30; reception, 6 p.m.; rally, 7 p.m. Suisse Chalet Motor Lodge, 3030 E 8th St. (Hwy. 12-20). Donation \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (219) 884-9509.

### KENTUCKY

#### Louisville

**Campaign Open House.** Tues., Nov. 2, 7 p.m. 809 E Broadway. Ausp: Socialist Workers 1982 Campaign Committee. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

### MARYLAND

#### Baltimore

**Stop the Wars Against Working People at Home and Abroad: Socialist Campaign Rally.** Speakers: Yvonne Hayes, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate; others. Sun., Oct. 31; reception, 6:30 p.m.; rally, 7 p.m. Unitarian Church Parish Hall, Charles and Hamilton St., 1 block north of Franklin. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

### MASSACHUSETTS

#### Boston

**Nuclear Freeze? A Debate on the Strategy for the Antinuclear Movement.** Speakers: Jane Roland, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate; others to be announced. Sun., Oct. 31, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave. (Kenmore Sq.). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

**Big Time Sports — Big Time Ripoff.** Speakers: Robert Goodman, author; Mike Alewitz, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Nov. 7, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave. (Kenmore Sq.) Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

### MICHIGAN

#### Detroit

**Bernadette Devlin-McAliskey Speaks.** Mon., Nov. 1, 7:30 p.m. St. Andrews Hall, 431 E Congress. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Committee to Support Irish Political Prisoners. For more information call (313) 885-5681.

**Election Night Celebration.** Join the Socialist Workers candidates for election returns. Tues., Nov. 2, 8 p.m. 6404 Woodward. Ausp: Michigan Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

### MINNESOTA

#### Minneapolis

**The '82 Elections: Issues and Alternatives Facing Working People.** Speakers: Socialist Workers candidates. Fri., Oct. 29, 8 p.m. Sabathani-Bryant Community Center, 310 E 38th St. Ausp: 1982 Minneapolis Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

### MISSOURI

#### St. Louis

**The Struggle to Reopen Homer G. Phillips Hospital.** Speakers: Zenobia Thompson, Campaign for Human Dignity; Laura Moore, Southsiders for Human Dignity; Henry Slobowski, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Oct. 29, 7:30 p.m. 6223 Delmar (near Skinker). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

**U.S. Secret War Against Nicaragua.** Slideshow and discussion. Fri., Nov. 5, 7:30 p.m. 6223 Delmar (corner of Skinker). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

**Discarded People: Film About Racism in South Africa.** Fri., Nov. 12, 7:30 p.m. 6223 Delmar (near Skinker). Donation: \$3. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

### NEW JERSEY

#### Newark

**Behind Israel's War In Lebanon: What is Washington's Real Role?** Speaker: Doug Jeness, editor of the *Militant*. Fri., Oct. 29, 7:30 p.m. 11 A Central Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

### NEW MEXICO

#### Albuquerque

**How Can We Stop Washington's War Drive?** Speakers: Fred Halstead, central leader of anti-Vietnam War movement, socialist author, and union activist. Sat., Nov. 6; dinner, 7 p.m.; program, 8 p.m. 1417 Central NE. Donation: \$4 (includes Mideastern dinner). Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (505) 842-0954.

### NEW YORK

#### New York City

**Jobs, Not War! A Fighting Program For Workers and Farmers.** Speakers: Diane Wang, Socialist Workers candidate for governor; Steve Wattenmaker, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. Sat., Oct. 30, 7 p.m. 79 Leonard St. (near Broadway). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers 1982 Campaign. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

**Benefit Dance.** "La Familia" orchestra, Latin music, Nicaraguan food. Sat., Oct. 30, 19 W 21st St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$5. Ausp: Casa Nicaragua. For more information call (212) 243-2678.

### NORTH CAROLINA

#### Winston-Salem

**Roots of the 1982 Depression.** Speaker: Meryl Lynn Farber. Sat., Oct. 30, 7:30 p.m. 216 E 6th St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 723-3419.

**South Africa: White Rule, Black Revolt.** Movie: *Last Grave at Dimbaza*. Speakers: Esau Mombane, South African student; Stacy Lions, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Nov. 6, 7:30 p.m. 216 E 6th St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 723-3419.

### OHIO

#### Toledo

**Meet the Socialist Candidates.** Open House. Sun., Oct. 31, 1 p.m. to 5 p.m. 2120 Dorr St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Toledo Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (419) 536-0383.

### OREGON

#### Portland

**Black Power in Grenada: A Slideshow.** Speakers: Marvin Johnson and Sarah Ryan, recently returned from Grenada. Sun., Oct. 31, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Bookstore. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

### VIRGINIA

#### Newport News

**Stop Deportations: The Struggle for Freedom in Haiti.** A slideshow. Sat., Nov. 6, 7:30 p.m. 5412 Jefferson Ave. (Warwick Gardens Center). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Tidewater Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (804) 380-0133.

### Norfolk

**Demonstration in Support of Haitian Refugees: Candlelight Vigil and March.** Tues., Nov. 2, 5:30 p.m. Federal Building, Grandy Mall. Ausp: Haitian Refugee Task Force.

### WEST VIRGINIA

#### Charleston

**What Is Socialism: Five-Part Class Series.** "Socialism and Bureaucracy." Mon. Nov. 8, 7 p.m. 1584 A Washington St. E. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

### WISCONSIN

#### Milwaukee

**Jobs Not War: Socialist Campaign Rally.** Speakers: Peter Seidman, Socialist Workers candidate for governor; Margo Storsteen, SWP candidate for lieutenant governor; Cheryll Hidalgo, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress 5th District; Danny Ahmad, Palestinian activist; Chris Jonas, draft resister. Sun., Oct. 31; reception, 6:30; rally, 7:30. 4934 Burleigh. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

**Election Night Celebration.** Tues., Nov. 2, 8 p.m. Fred's Lounge, 5007 W Center St. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

### Weekend of Marxist Education

#### MISSOURI

##### Kansas City

**Socialist Campaign Rally.** Speakers: Kathie Fitzgerald, Socialist Workers candidate for 5th Congressional District; Willie Mae Reid, 1976 SWP candidate for vice-president; Joe Swanson, SWP candidate for governor of Nebraska. Sat., Oct. 30, 7:30 p.m. 4500 Warwick. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign.

**Capitalism and the Oppression of Black Americans.** Speaker: Willie Mae Reid. Sun., Oct. 31, 1 p.m. **The Government Offensive Against Working People.** Speaker: Joe Swanson. Sun., Oct. 31, 3 p.m. 4715 A Troost. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

#### NEW YORK

##### Schenectady

**Money For Jobs Not War: Socialist Campaign Forum.** Speakers: Mary-Alice Waters, National Spokesperson, Socialist Workers Party; Mike Fitzsimmons, Young Socialist Alliance; socialist candidates; others. Sat., Oct. 30, 7:30 p.m. 323 State St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (518) 374-1494.

**Revolutionary Grenada and the Struggle for Black Liberation in the U.S.** Speaker: Andrew Pulley, SWP National Committee. Sun., Oct. 31, 11 a.m. **How Cuba Is Leading the Fight Against Imperialist War.** Speaker: Mary-Alice Waters. Sun., Oct. 31, 1:30 p.m. 323 State St. Donation: \$1 per class. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance.

# Kennedy's freeze no answer to nuclear war threat

**Freeze! How You Can Help Prevent Nuclear War,** by Senator Edward Kennedy and Senator Mark Hatfield. Bantam Books, April 1982. Paperback. \$3.50.

BY JANE ROLAND

*Freeze! How You Can Help Prevent Nuclear War.* The title certainly sounds promising. How could anyone concerned with the danger of war today pass this book by?

But this paperback, put together by Senators Edward Kennedy and Mark Hatfield, offers no effective strategy to prevent nuclear war. In fact, it throws readers off course.

The book revolves around the bilateral freeze resolution Kennedy and Hatfield have introduced into Con-

## BOOK REVIEW

gress. This resolution says "the U.S. and the Soviet Union should pursue a complete halt to the nuclear arms race . . . decide when and how to achieve a mutual and verifiable freeze. . . ." Then, proceeding from this freeze, they "should pursue major, mutual, and verifiable reduction. . . ."

Kennedy refers to his resolution as the "immediate freeze" resolution — in contrast to several others introduced into Congress, which he labels "false freeze." "A false freeze calls for a freeze tomorrow, never a freeze today," the book claims.

But even a quick reading of the Kennedy-Hatfield text shows "freeze now" is quite an exaggeration. The resolution doesn't demand that Washington immediately freeze development of nuclear weapons. Rather, it makes any freeze or cutback contingent on an agreement with the Soviet Union.

But the onus of responsibility for the massive nuclear stockpiles today belongs with Washington, not Moscow. And therefore the onus of getting rid of these weapons should be on Washington.

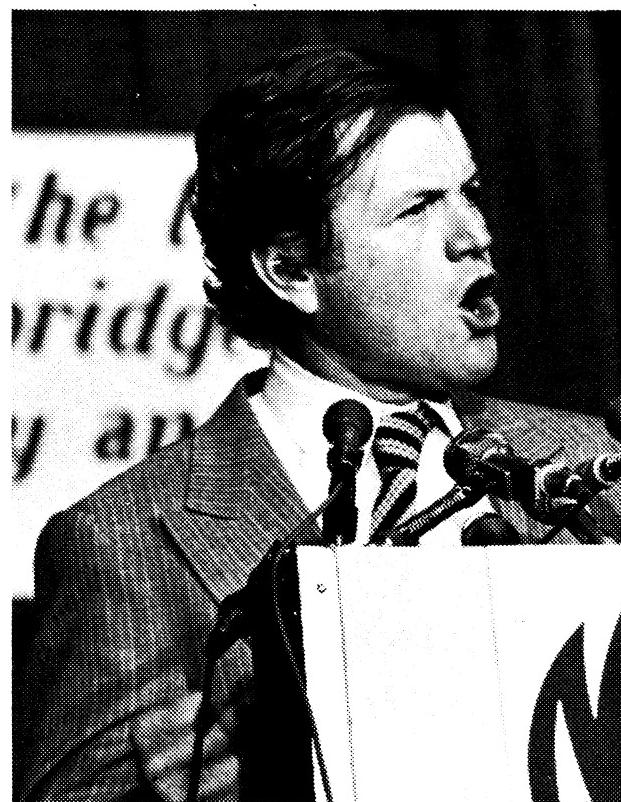
After all, why has there been a massive nuclear weapons build-up? It's an attempt by the imperialists to keep the Soviet Union from attempting to defend revolutionary struggles against U.S. wars of aggression. So they must maintain nuclear superiority. Each time Moscow has produced a new arm, it was in response to escalation by Washington.

*Freeze!* opens with the chapter "The First Nuclear War," a gripping description of the dropping of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima in 1945. To illustrate the horror of the bombing, Kennedy quotes himself quoting Japanese novelist Masaji Ibuse speaking to students at Hiroshima University, describing the nuclear explosion: "It was an envoy of the devil itself, I decided: who else in the whole wide universe would have presumed to summon forth such a monstrosity?"

Is that what Kennedy wants us to believe? That the devil dropped the bomb?

It was the U.S. government that dropped the only atomic weapons ever used against people. It was President Truman, a member of Kennedy's own Democratic Party. This book never does say who was responsible. Kennedy never says the bomb shouldn't have been dropped, nor makes it clear that he would never undertake such an action in the future — no small thing for a man in the U.S. Senate who may one day be president.

*Freeze!* continues with two chapters on "The Next Nuclear War:" chapter 2, "The Death of An American City," and chapter 3, "A Wounded World." Here the authors give us a scenario of a world destroyed by weapons



Militant/Diane Wang



Militant/Don Gurewitz

**Kennedy seeks to derail antiwar sentiment into Democratic Party with his freeze proposal. His socialist opponent, Jane Roland, calls for actions against U.S.-backed wars.**

many times more powerful than those dropped on Japan. Basing their information on scientific studies, they describe devastated cities, countries, the entire hemisphere. These chapters are gruesome.

That's why it's necessary to stop reading the book, take a breath, and step back for a moment from the portrayed visions of doom. Pick up the newspaper. Immediately you're struck by what's missing from *Freeze!*: Where will this nuclear disaster come from?

Even as Kennedy and Hatfield's staffs were reviewing the many studies that were utilized in the book, the U.S. government was sending military aid to back up the hated dictatorship in El Salvador. But there's no mention of that here.

Isn't that how a nuclear war might really explode? Out of an imperialist war against a developing revolution?

Kennedy is no peacemaker. He voted for the massive military appropriations in the new federal budget and for funds for the M-X and B-1 bomber. He is against the U.S. government disclaiming first use of nuclear weapons.

In fact, Kennedy and Hatfield suggest that some of the \$90 billion they estimate a freeze will "save" the war budget over the next five years can be "reallocated to improve the readiness and the reliability of our conventional forces." That's the crux of their "peace" plan — improving and expanding U.S. nonnuclear warfare. Of course it's exactly those conventional forces that Washington relies on for waging and aiding counterrevolutionary aggression around the world. The greatest danger of nuclear war comes from the possibility that a "conventional" war by imperialism to crush the working people in a semicolonial country will escalate to a broader war.

"We want the world safe for ourselves and our future generations — this is the message that Americans all across the country are bringing to their elected officials,"

reads the blurb on the back of the paperback.

And, in their introduction, Kennedy and Hatfield offer this book as a "manual for citizen involvement in the struggle."

But to make the world safe for ourselves and our future generations means replacing those who are in power today. It means working people and farmers running our own government.

This isn't what Kennedy and Hatfield have in mind when they refer to "the struggle." They want to see working people burn out their energy by petitioning Congress to pass their useless resolution and working for liberal Democratic and Republican politicians — the very parties responsible for U.S. war policies.

There is a real course of action for those who want to stop nuclear war. That's to build an antiwar movement that will oppose Washington's war policies and the very real wars going on today.

*Jane Roland is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Massachusetts. Her opponents are Democratic incumbent Edward Kennedy and Republican Raymond Shamie.*

### Farmers and the Cuban Revolution

By Fidel Castro

The complete text of Fidel Castro's address to the Sixth Congress of the National Association of Small Farmers (ANAP) on May 17, 1982 is published in two issues of *Intercontinental Press*. These are available for \$2.00. Order from Intercontinental Press, 410 West Street, New York 10014.

## —IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP

Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and socialist books and pamphlets

**ALABAMA:** Birmingham: SWP, YSA, 205 18th St. S. Zip: 35233. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

**ARIZONA:** Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 611 E. Indian School. Zip: 85012. Tel: (602) 274-7399. Tucson: SWP, P.O. Box 2585. Zip: 85702. Tel: (602) 622-3880 or 882-4304.

**CALIFORNIA:** Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. Oakland: SWP, YSA, 2864 Telegraph Ave. Zip: 94609. Tel: (415) 763-3792. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 46½ Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007. Seaside: Pathfinder Books, 1043A Broadway, Seaside. Zip: 93955. Tel: (408) 394-1855.

**COLORADO:** Denver: SWP, YSA, 126 W. 12th Ave. Zip: 80204. Tel: (303) 534-8954.

**FLORIDA:** Miami: SWP, YSA, 1237 NW 119th St., North Miami. Zip: 33167. Tel: (305) 769-3478.

**GEORGIA:** Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 504 Flat Shoals Ave. SE. Zip: 30316. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

**ILLINOIS:** Chicago: SWP, YSA, 555 W. Adams Zip: 60606. Tel: (312) 559-9046.

**INDIANA:** Bloomington: YSA, Activities Desk, Indiana Memorial Union. Zip: 47405.

**GARY:** SWP, YSA, 3883 Broadway. Zip: 46409. Tel: (219) 884-9509. Indianapolis: SWP, YSA, 4850 N. College. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 283-6149.

**IOWA:** Cedar Falls: YSA, c/o Jim Sprall, 803 W. 11th St. Zip: 50613. Des Moines: YSA, P.O. Box 1165, Zip: 50311.

**KENTUCKY:** Louisville: SWP, YSA, 809 E. Broadway. Zip: 40204. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

**LOUISIANA:** New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3207 Dublin St. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

**MARYLAND:** Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

**MASSACHUSETTS:** Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

**MICHIGAN:** Detroit: SWP, YSA, 6404 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 875-5322.

**MINNESOTA:** Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, YSA, 112 Chestnut St., Virginia, Minn. 55792. Send mail to P.O. Box 1287. Zip: 55792. Tel: (218) 749-6327. Twin Cities: SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

**MISSOURI:** Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar Blvd. Zip: 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1570.

**NEBRASKA:** Lincoln: YSA, P.O. Box 80238. Zip: 68501. Tel: (402) 475-8933.

**NEW JERSEY:** Newark: SWP, YSA, 11-A Central Ave. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

**NEW MEXICO:** Albuquerque: SWP, YSA, 1417 Central Ave. NE. Zip: 87106. Tel: (505) 842-0954.

**NEW YORK:** Capital District (Schenectady): SWP, YSA, 323 State St. Zip: 12305. Tel: (518) 374-1494. New York, Brooklyn: SWP, YSA, 335 Atlantic Ave. Zip: 11201. Tel: (212) 852-7922. New York, Manhattan: SWP, YSA, 79 Leonard. Zip: 10013. Tel: (212) 226-8445. New York: City-wide SWP, YSA, 79 Leonard. Zip: 10013. Tel: (212) 925-1668.

**NORTH CAROLINA:** Piedmont: SWP, YSA, 216 E. 6th St., Winston-Salem. Zip: 27101. Tel: (919) 723-3419.

**OHIO:** Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 4945 Paddock Rd. Zip: 45237. Tel: (513) 242-7161.

**Cleveland:** SWP, YSA, 2230 Superior. Zip: 44114. Tel: (216) 579-9369.

**Toledo:** SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorr St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

**OREGON:** Portland: SWP, YSA, 711 NW Everett. Zip: 97209. Tel: (503) 222-7225.

**PENNSYLVANIA:** Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16444. Tel: (814) 734-4415.

**Harrisburg:** SWP, YSA, 803 N. 2nd St. Zip: 17102. Tel: (717) 234-5052.

**Philadelphia:** SWP, YSA, 5811 N. Broad St. Zip: 19141. Tel: (215) 927-4747 or 927-4748.

**Pittsburgh:** SWP, YSA, 141 S. Highland Ave. Zip: 15206. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

**State College:** YSA, P.O. Box 464, Bellefonte. Zip: 16823. Tel: (814) 238-3296.

**RHODE ISLAND:** Providence: YSA, P.O. Box 261, Annex Station. Zip: 02901.

**TEXAS:** Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Tel: (512) 452-3923.

**Dallas:** SWP, YSA, 2817 Live Oak. Zip: 75204. Tel: (214) 826-4711.

**Houston:** SWP, YSA, 6333 Gulf Freeway, Room 222. Zip: 77023. Tel: (713) 924-4056.

**San Antonio:** SWP, YSA, 337 W. Josephine. Zip: 78212. Tel: (512) 736-9218.

**UTAH:** Price: SWP, YSA, 23 S. Carbon Ave., Suite 19. P.O. Box 758. Zip: 84501. Tel: (801) 637-6294.

**Salt Lake City:** SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. Zip: 84102. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

**VIRGINIA:** Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 5412 Jefferson Ave., Zip 23605. Tel: (804) 380-0133.

**WASHINGTON, D.C.:** SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699.

**Baltimore-Washington District:** 3106 Mt. Pleasant St., NW, Washington, D.C. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7021.

**WASHINGTON:** Seattle: SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.

**WEST VIRGINIA:** Charleston: SWP, YSA, 1584 A Washington St. East. Zip: 25311. Tel: (304) 345-3040.

**Morgantown:** SWP, YSA, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

**WISCONSIN:** Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 4707 W. Lisbon Ave. Zip: 53208. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

## Working-class fight for ballot rights

"Vote the party of your choice, but vote."

There is a catch to that election-time refrain. Namely that they do everything they can to deny you a real choice.

The Democratic and Republican upholders of capitalism are assured a place on the ballot. And their right-wing satellite parties rarely have a problem gaining a ballot place.

But working-class parties that offer a meaningful alternative face onerous requirements and heavy restrictions in their fight for ballot rights. And when they succeed in meeting those requirements they often face efforts to disqualify them through legal trickery and trumped-up challenges to their nominating petitions.

Candidates of the Socialist Workers Party will be on the ballot this year contesting 19 congressional seats, 12 statewide offices, and four local offices.

In Michigan, the SWP and others won a court ruling scrapping a primary election requirement that effectively barred minority parties from the ballot.

In North Carolina, the socialists challenged a ruling that they had filed insufficient nominating petitions. They generated public protest and won a court ruling reversing that crooked decision.

In West Virginia, the Socialist Workers Party won ballot status for the first time. The party obtained the necessary amount of petitions in the face of a concerted public campaign by officials to intimidate prospective signers.

Then state officials ruled that not enough valid signatures had been filed for Adrienne Benjamin, SWP candidate for Congress. This was successfully challenged in court.

But in several cases the socialists were denied their right to a ballot place even though they had more than met the legal requirements.

Perhaps the most scandalous example of this was in California.

There, the two major parties have made it unusually difficult for working-class candidates to get on the ballot. Currently more than 100,000 nominating signatures are required.

To gain a ballot place for Mel Mason, an SWP leader running for governor, more than 214,000 signatures were filed. Yet the Democratic administration of Gov. Edmund Brown arbitrarily disqualified the petitions, declaring there were insufficient valid ones.

This generated significant protest in California and around the country. Union activists and officials, civil rights and civil liberties figures, made known their opposition to this undemocratic act.

The arbitrary ruling was challenged in the California courts and in federal court. All of them chose to uphold the decision keeping Mason off the ballot.

One might ask why the California politicians and their friends in court were so stubborn about keeping Mason off the ballot, particularly since it opened a good many people's eyes to the hypocrisy of their professed devotion to democracy.

In general, the capitalist parties want to maintain a ballot monopoly because they know they can't respond to the political challenge of working-class candidates. Whenever working-class candidates get on the ballot they get more media coverage, they are treated more seriously, and appear more legitimate. It makes it just a bit more difficult for the capitalist candidates to simply ignore them.

And, the Democrats and Republicans figure, each move to keep an independent candidate off the ballot makes it that much harder for future challengers. They are concerned about the emergence of new political formations such as the National Black Independent Political Party. They're aware of the growing receptivity among workers to the idea of a labor party. They want to put as many obstacles as long as they can in the way of such developments.

And they had particular considerations for wanting to keep Mel Mason off the ballot.

A longtime activist in the Black community in Seaside, California, Mason was elected to the city council there in 1980.

He won despite a red-baiting campaign focused on his socialist beliefs and affiliation.

The present state election occurs in the midst of the deepening economic crisis — a crisis that has hit hardest at Black and Latino voters.

In this situation, Mason's forthright proposals for actions in behalf of working people stand in sharp contrast to the inability of either major party candidate to offer meaningful answers.

This was a particular problem for Thomas Bradley, the Black Democratic mayor of Los Angeles who would like to coast into the state house by ducking the key issues. He hopes that his pro-business positions will go unnoticed by Blacks and other working-class voters.

By denying Mason a place on the ballot, they knew they were making it more difficult for him to win access to media exposure. And they intended that lack of ballot status would reduce Mason's credibility as a serious campaigner and meaningful alternative.

It was precisely this that made it so important for Mason and his supporters to fight every inch of the way, beginning with the huge petition gathering process.

Their resolute battle for their rights will benefit all those who stand in opposition to the capitalist parties, as well as those who will come into opposition in the days ahead.

And by waging an energetic, hard-hitting write-in campaign they overcame many of the obstacles placed in their path and registered new gains for the socialist cause.

By example, they and the other socialist campaigners across the country helped to underline the reality that there is no social progress without struggle. By doing that, they put the movement in a stronger position for the bigger battles to come.

## 1962: Fidel Castro responds to U.S. threats of war

In October 1962, the U.S. government "discovered" that revolutionary Cuba had nuclear-tipped missiles furnished by the Soviet Union. Washington demanded that Cuba return these weapons to the USSR. This challenge to Cuba's right to defend itself from imperialist aggression became known as the "missile crisis." President John Kennedy threatened to bomb Cuba, or Soviet ships enroute to Cuba, if the missiles were not returned to the Soviet Union. Below are excerpts from a speech Fidel Castro delivered on TV to the Cuban people October 23. The speech, notable for its calmness and self-confidence, was also a direct answer to Kennedy's speech the previous night which precipitated the crisis with his announcement of a naval blockade of Cuba. These excerpts appeared in the October 29, 1962 *Militant*.

"We have taken the necessary measures not only to resist but to repel — hear it well — *to repel* any aggression from the U.S.," Cuba's revolutionary leader declared.

"We are not sovereign through any concession made by the United States," Castro said. "And to take away our

### OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

sovereignty they will have to wipe us from the face of the earth . . .

"If the U.S. gave Cuba ample guarantees against aggression, Cuba would not have to arm. They ask us to disarm, but they will not renounce aggression . . .

"What have we done except to defend ourselves? Did they expect that at the first act of aggression we were going to surrender? That we were going to put our heads on the chopping block? . . .

"We will acquire the arms we deem necessary for our defense. And we don't have to give an accounting to anyone. None of our arms are offensive because we have never been aggressive. We will never be aggressors but we will never be victims either."

Fiercely jealous of Cuba's hard-won sovereignty, Castro rejected U.S. demands for inspection teams to go into Cuba to examine its defenses for "aggressive" weapons.

"We refuse to give permission to anyone to examine, to investigate our country — no matter who it is."

"Cuba is not the Congo. Under the UN flag they went to the Congo and killed its leader and the spirit of independence of that people."

"Anyone who comes to inspect anything in Cuba had better come prepared for battle. We don't ask to investigate in others' territory."

Castro depicted the unilaterally imposed naval blockade as but a culminating step in the long series of U.S. attempts to destroy the Cuban Revolution and the example it sets for all Latin America.

"All measures against us failed. Now they institute a more aggressive policy. They attempt to establish a blockade by putting pressure on their own allies — they threaten to ruin the merchant marines of those countries . . .

"Because they will not resign themselves, their failure to crush the Cuban Revolution brings us to this pass — the most dangerous one for the peace of the world . . .

"Now they establish a blockade. Is it perhaps a blockade established in their own territorial waters? No. It is conducted on the high seas, which is a violation of the rights of all nations . . .

"If they attempt to blockade us, we will see which will hold out longer — our morale or their shamelessness."

"If they impose a total blockade, we will resist it. We can resist it. We will not starve to death. If there is a direct attack, we will repel it. I can't speak more plainly . . .

"They menace us with nuclear attack but they don't scare us. We will see if the U.S. congressmen, bankers, etc., possess the same calmness as we."

"We are calmed by the knowledge that, if they attack us, the aggressor will be *exterminated* . . .

"Humanity must fight for peace. It must mobilize against those who endanger peace. We must learn to live in the age into which we were born . . .

"He [Kennedy] proposes that we disarm. We will never do so while the U.S. continues to be an aggressor. We favor a policy of disarming all foreign bases, not ours alone. It would be idiocy for Cuba to disarm while the U.S. threatens it . . .

"What are defensive and offensive arms? The arms used at Playa Girón [where the U.S.-sponsored invasion in April 1961 landed], they were offensive arms. And our arms were defensive arms. What determines whether arms are offensive or defensive is the use one makes of them."

"It is ridiculous to say that Cuba has aggressive aims. We will not be aggressors but we will not give an accounting to the U.S. What sovereign nation hasn't the right to arm?"

## Antiwar actions spotlight El Salvador

In October, more than 5,000 people in the United States turned out for marches, rallies, car caravans, picketlines, and walk-a-thons to protest U.S. war moves in El Salvador and the rest of Central America. (See news story on page 4.)

In addition, at the huge October 24 San Francisco labor march of 70,000, there was a contingent of trade unionists opposed to U.S. intervention in Central America. The best received speaker at the subsequent rally was Ed Asner, president of the Screen Actors Guild, who has been victimized by the television industry for his outspoken and active support to the embattled workers and peasants of El Salvador.

On October 16 and 23, in response to an international initiative, the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) helped organize actions in 50 cities in the United States.

The purpose of the actions was to expose U.S. intervention "in the political affairs of El Salvador, as well as the alarming development of increased U.S. involvement in directing counterinsurgency warfare in that nation and in the Central American region."

In response:

- 1,000 marched in San Francisco, including a sizable number of Central Americans and Chicanos.
- 800 marched in Chicago to the Great Lakes Naval Training Center.
- 500 marched in Seattle, Washington.
- An 80-car caravan was organized in Los Angeles.
- Between Washington, D.C.; Ithaca, New York; and New York City, almost \$13,000 was raised for medical aid to be distributed by the freedom fighters in El Salvador.

In Peoria, Illinois, on October 20, 325 people "greeted" President Ronald Reagan, who was there to campaign for a Republican congressional hopeful. Those present, including rank-and-file auto workers and steel-

workers, peace activists, and religious groups, protested administration policies and demanded that the U.S. get out of El Salvador.

In San Diego, 1,300 people demonstrated on October 3 to protest the conviction of antiwar activist Ben Sasway for refusing to register for the draft.

Actions are taking place in other countries, including a Mexico-U.S. Border Conference in Tijuana, Mexico, on October 30-31.

The significance of these actions is underlined by the political context in which they took place.

Despite the big advances rebel forces are making in El Salvador; despite the recent kidnapping of 15 leaders of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) and the labor movement by the Salvadoran regime; despite the stepped-up rightist attacks against Nicaragua, which are supported, organized, and financed by the U.S. government; despite the massacres of Indians by the Guatemalan dictatorship — despite all this news, the big-business "news" media hasn't given much coverage to these events.

The fact that these kinds of educational activities occurred despite the news brownout is one small indication of the depth of antiwar sentiment.

These actions, in turn, played a role in spotlighting Washington's covert war in Central America.

The protests also occurred the month before the November elections, when there was intense pressure on antiwar activists to subordinate the fight against war to getting "peace" Democrats elected and organizing support for "bilateral nuclear freeze" ballot initiatives.

As the polarization in Central America deepens and the U.S. government increases its intervention there, more antiwar activities are needed. Educational protests can play an important role in mobilizing the massive and potentially powerful antiwar sentiment that exists today among millions of workers in this country.

# Is biology responsible for women's oppression?

The following guest column was written by Brenda Brdar.

In the November issue of *Ms.* magazine, Naomi Weisstein, a professor of psychology at the State University of New York (Buffalo), deals a blow to the idea that women are biologically inferior, in an article titled "Tired of Arguing about Biological Inferiority?"

For centuries, women's biology has been used as a weapon against us. The second-class status of women in

## WOMEN IN REVOLT

society was considered literally the natural order of things with the animal world being pointed to as proof of the naturalness of male dominance and female subordination.

At one time, scientists measured our brain sizes to "prove" our inferiority. Today, the arguments are more sophisticated. Sex-linked genes are now said to be responsible for certain "male" or "female" traits or abilities.

The words may be different, but the message is the same: Our inferiority is in our genes. It's biology, not society, that determines our destiny. So forget about achieving equality.

Weisstein takes a look at studies of "our closest relatives" — female primates — which reveal their behavior as "tough, assertive, and socially central." She concludes that dominance (and therefore subjugation) is not determined genetically. It is neither inherited individually or by one sex.

## LETTERS

### Boxer on strike

As a fellow socialist, I am writing you about my strike, the first in the history of boxing. When I picketed, I had on my sign, "Boxer on strike for better working conditions. AFL-CIO Local 355." I'm a member of Local 355.

Of course, the promoters did their best to slander me, as any employer does to a striking worker. They claimed I struck because my fight was cancelled. But, the truth is I struck three days earlier, with my list of demands, and *then* the fight was cancelled. Also, the promoter knew it was my professional debut. He has seen me train and knows I'm a good boxer. He just was afraid of my militancy and couldn't meet my demands.

I hope maybe you'll print something about this because it is a first and may inspire other athletes to fight for their rights as workers. Boxers especially need a union. They have no pension plan or health insurance. Although boxing earns hundreds of millions of dollars each year, 95 percent of all boxers live at or below the poverty level.

Dennis Marsella  
Dania, Florida

### Favorable responses

I enjoy reading the *Militant* and have gotten some fairly favorable responses when I've shown some articles and issues to some other students here at school, American University. Keep up the good work. Enclosed is a subscription for the *Young Socialist*.

Bob Cohen  
Alexandria, Virginia

### Beirut massacre

At its October 10 meeting, the State Executive Board of the Social Services Union, Local 535 (SEIU), an organization representing 10,000 California workers in the health and human services, overwhelmingly adopted a resolution condemning the recent massacres of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon and calling for the immediate withdrawal of Israeli forces. The text reads:

"We protest the massacre, at the hands of Christian Phalangist militiamen, of hundreds of Pales-

The example of a species of gentle, monogamous, langurs (Asiatic long-tailed monkeys) on the Mentawai Islands off the coast of Indonesia, is cited by Weisstein. In all other known cases, the langurs are "polygamous, highly aggressive, and male dominant." This radically different behavior in such genetically close species is attributed to environmental differences.

"If nearly the same genes produce male tyrants in one environment and gentle companions in another, then genes alone don't determine those specific behaviors in primates." Thus, "relations between sexes can change radically with changes in the environment," Weisstein believes. Weisstein concludes that "females are not subordinate in the primate world to anything like the degree intimated by mainstream behavioral biology."

In spite of such evidence, the official scientific view of fixed male and female "nature" doesn't seem to change.

Weisstein stresses that: "It is important to understand how profoundly, pervasively, and totally, bias can affect something as purportedly 'scientific' as biology. You need much more than evidence to bring down as cherished a notion as male dominion. Whenever privilege is at stake, theories justifying privilege will linger on well after the evidence has overturned them.

"It isn't necessarily a conscious conspiracy. Rather, the new data are not acknowledged, or they are treated as trivial, or appropriate implications from them are overlooked. The data don't act to influence the theories, and so the theories remain the same."

In explaining how female subjugation developed, Weisstein tackles the theory that it was "Man the Hunter" who drove human beings forward. "In fact, it's more likely," she says, "that it was Woman the Gatherer who led the procession down the evolutionary pike." She

agrees with anthropologist Nancy Tanner, who has argued that it was women and children working together in a social environment, gathering, and developing skills of communication, who were the "central actors in our evolution."

There is now evidence, Weisstein explains, that women's subjugation began some 12,000 years ago — when hunting and gathering societies were replaced with societies based on plant and animal domestication — with the development of the state. Although we can't pinpoint a date, this is relatively recent within the several million years of human evolution.

Weisstein concludes that ". . . male dominance is not in our genes. It is not something we inherited in becoming human, along with the big brain and the small canines. It emerged afterward. It is a specific cultural legacy. . . . Biology shows us that the subjugation of women is anything but natural and fixed. . . . Biology tells us that there is nothing genetic stopping us from having full sexual and social expression. . . . Rather than a curse against women, biology is a promise to us."

Weisstein's article should help stimulate renewed interest in studying the origins of the oppression women face today in capitalist society. The Marxist classic, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, written in 1891 by Frederick Engels, as well as the works of the late Marxist anthropologist, Evelyn Reed, are invaluable tools in such a study. *Origin of the Family and Women's Evolution* by Evelyn Reed are available from Pathfinder Press for \$3.45 and \$8.95 respectively. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. (Include \$.75 for postage and handling.)

Understanding our historical and biological roots will better prepare us to fight for our equality and full liberation.



"Under the new standards for air purity, we will in future apply the Watt-Gorsuch test. If you can't feel any lumps in it, it's OK."

and electrical workers. All were unemployed.

During Zola's presentation, in which he explained what capitalism is and why it inevitably leads to unemployment, war, and racism, many of those present interrupted the socialist candidate to express agreement with him. The meeting became one big discussion on how to deal with the current capitalist economic crisis.

"These politicians won't do anything for us. Now we have to decide what we are going to do," asserted one young unemployed steelworker.

A Black steelworker, after listening to the discussion for a while, joined in pointing out, "Everybody is making campaign promises, but what we need is some kind of revolt. I'm not saying we need violence, but we need a revolution."

Thirty-six copies of the *Militant*, the campaign newspaper of the socialists, were sold at the day's events, as well as one *Young Socialist* and \$13 worth of campaign buttons.

A young Black woman — with eight children and an unemployed husband — attended the reception in McKeesport. The following day she came over to nearby Pittsburgh to attend a class sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance on women's rights and abortion.

DeAnne Rathbun  
Pittsburgh, Pa.

sing their compassion for the truly needy. While most of us have heard about the monetary crisis in Mexico, the *Times* looked further and found something more. They discovered not just currency devaluation, but a story of real human tragedy.

The story is a tearjerker. It starts like this: "They are all gone, and they are sorely missed." Who? People who have died of hunger or illness? People forced to move to other cities or forced to live the life of an "illegal" in another country? No, it is the wealthy Mexicans who are still rich, but have been forced to stop shopping at super-fancy and expensive stores — in the Houston area.

As a result, the American store-owners are "suffering." Much of their business came from rich Mexicans who used to spend thousands of dollars in a store at a time. The *Times* gave examples like these: a pair of \$1400 silk sheets bought for a 9-year-old girl, a man who spent \$27,000 on video recorders and Piaget watches going for \$12,000.

One store lost almost half its business. This doesn't mean the store is in the red, but it has been stricken — it has been forced to advertise and may have to stock some less costly items. The store's manager put it so well, "It's tough."

David Brandt  
New York, New York

### Correction

Last week's issue of the *Militant* gave an incorrect date for the death of Fred Brode. Brode died October 6, 1982.

# Rally denounces killing of Black at hands of California cops

BY JULIETTE MONTAUK

RICHMOND, Calif. — Three hundred and fifty people rallied here October 23 to protest the murder of a Black man, Willie Lee Drumgoole, by Richmond city cops. The action was called by the NAACP and the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU).

The protesters started off the march with a picket line chanting, "We want justice, we want it now." Ninety percent of the participants were from the Black community. Demonstrators carried placards with such slogans as, "Recall the Uncle Tom Council," "Stop legal lynching," and "Richmond is not Soweto."

Richmond police at first denied a parade permit for the march because a city ordinance requires 20 day's notice before such an event. But the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 9th Circuit reversed the earlier decision and granted a permit for a sidewalk march late the day before it was scheduled. The NAACP called the denial of the parade permit and then its last minute reversal a "delaying tactic aimed at allowing public outrage over the death of Drumgoole to subside." The lateness of this decision meant that it was too late for it to be reported in the newspapers.

Richmond has a long history of police terror; and not only the Blacks but all the oppressed minorities of Richmond have had enough.

This murder was the fifth in the last two years at the hands of the cops. All were ruled by the coroner to be "justified homicide."

On September 25 Drumgoole had been collecting scrapmetal at an abandoned warehouse when the police responded to a report of burglary. While they were searching, they discovered him. He was brought to the city jail where he had to remain because he could not afford to post bail. There had never been any report of witnesses who saw Drumgoole commit any crime. Several days later Drumgoole was reported dead. He was first reported to have been "subdued" by three police officers. Later it came out that 10 to 20 cops had participated in the beating. The coroner's report stated that the cause of death was "traumatic neck injuries" — better known by the people of Richmond as the "chokehold."

The NAACP contends the police personnel beat and choked Drumgoole to death. The police say Drumgoole was not beaten and that his death was accidental.

Linda Simon, mother of Drumgoole's daughter Sabrina, and Sabrina attended the march and rally. Simon told the *Militant* that Drumgoole was a well-liked man who loved his children and family.

Simon's brother was also a target of police terror. He was beaten up by the Richmond police when he was picked up for alleged traffic violations.

One thing that Simon could not understand and wanted an answer to was, "why he [Drumgoole] wasn't allowed to make a phone call." As it turns out, nobody in Drumgoole's family or any of his friends knew where he was until he was already dead and at the coroner's. When Simon found out by rumor that something had happened to Drumgoole, she called the police department where she was put on hold six times. When the police finally talked to her, they explained that Drumgoole was there. He "had a little breathing problem" and they had brought him back to his cell.

Finally after much delay, they told Simon that Drumgoole had "expired."

Drumgoole's daughter, Sabrina was greatly affected by the death of her father. Linda said that recently when Sabrina saw

some cops enter the house next door to Simon's, she ran to her mother and yelled, "The police are here. Are they coming to get you too?"

At the rally there were speakers from the NAACP, the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP), the ACLU, and JOIN (Jobs or Income Now).

Oliver Jones, who represents the Drumgoole family in a \$50 million wrongful death suit against the city, spoke for the NAACP.

Oliver called for an "open, free, and comprehensive hearing where all questions are answered."

In speaking about the Black councilmen who are supposed to be working for the people, he shouted, "Where are all those Uncle Toms who say that they represent this community today!"

He told the *Militant* that the inquest will be a cover-up. No cross-examination will be allowed.

The NAACP has called for a reconstruction of the incident where Drumgoole was murdered. The police department is refusing to let any of their officers participate in any such reconstruction.

The NAACP has also provided the names of four prisoners who witnessed what happened in the jail. But these have not been made part of the inquest.

Jonina Abron from NBIPP told the rally that the only reason there are police in this



Militant/Dave Snipper

October 23 protest against killing of Willie Lee Drumgoole in Richmond, California.

country is to "carry out acts of terror against Blacks and other oppressed people." She charged that they "are trying to oppress us, and stop our struggle."

A statement by Mel Mason, independent candidate for governor, which he and his supporters distributed, called for "Justice for Willie Lee Drumgoole," "Prosecute the cops responsible for his death," "Stop the chokehold."

After long refusing to hold an inquiry into Drumgoole's murder, the city finally agreed the day before the march to hold one.

The NAACP and the ACLU urge that everyone attend the inquiry, which will take place November 3 in Martinez in either the Superior Court room or the County Board of Supervisors chamber.

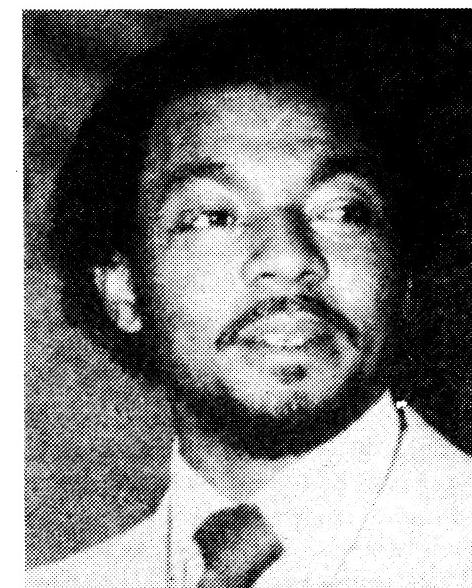
## Jury seated in Carthan frame-up trial

BY RASHAAD ALI

NEW ORLEANS — The Holmes County Circuit Court in Lexington, Mississippi, completed selection of a jury October 23 in the murder trial of former Tchula Mayor Eddie Carthan and his brother Joseph. The selection of the all-Black jury of 12 ended five days of proceedings where 200 potential jurors were considered.

Eddie Carthan, the first Black mayor of Tchula, was elected in 1977. He was removed from office in April 1981, three months before his term expired. Local and state officials waged a campaign of threats in order to block a series of reforms initiated by his administration. The reforms were to benefit the majority of Black residents in Tchula.

Carthan is presently serving a three-year jail term for allegedly assaulting a police officer when he was mayor. Six of his supporters are now on probation for the same charge. They have become known as the Tchula Seven.



Eddie Carthan

The murder rap against the Carthan brothers stems from the June 1981 killing of Tchula alderman Roosevelt Granderson. Granderson served as acting mayor after Carthan was removed. He was murdered by two gunmen in a holdup of a local store. The gunmen, both from out of state, were indicted. But one of them, in return for reduced charges and a lesser sentence, implicated the Carthan brothers. They were charged with murder in April 1982. They face the death penalty if the court finds them guilty.

In selecting the jury, most of the questions asked of the potential jurors centered around their attitude toward Blacks.

Carthans' attorney Johnny Walls asked one white woman why she sent her children to a segregated school academy and whether any Blacks attended her church.

District Attorney Frank Carleton objected to Carthan's questions. He also objected when Walls asked her whether she ever considered marrying a Black man. Judge Arthur Clark, upheld the District Attorney's objections.

Walls asked all white prospective jurors whether they used the word, "nigger." One white woman replied, "I dare say that there isn't a Black or white in this courtroom that hasn't used the word at one time or another." She was dismissed.

In an attempt to keep a curtain around the opening of the trial, Clark imposed a gag order preventing the news media from communicating with anyone involved in the case and from reporting on any related activities that occurred outside of court. Representatives from most of the major national media were present.

The order was lifted after the jury was selected. The ruling, however, blocked CBS News reporter John Sheahan from doing an on camera interview with Eddie Carthan. Holmes County Sheriff Howard Huggins, strictly enforcing the gag rule, refused permission for Sheahan to interview Carthan in the county jail.

The judge defended Huggins' action by arguing that tight security was needed so that no harm would come to Carthan. But the real role of these "security" measures is to intimidate supporters of Eddie Carthan and the Tchula Seven. Another such measure has been to lock the courthouse door once the court was convened. A court clerk says this is the first time that the courthouse has been locked up in two years.

Supporters of Eddie Carthan and the Tchula Seven have packed the courtroom since the beginning of the trial. They also hung red, black, and green streamers from the oaks in the courtyard.

## Mel Mason sends message of support to Eddie Carthan

The following message from Mel Mason was sent to Eddie Carthan on October 23.

As an elected city councilman from Seaside, California, and an independent socialist candidate for governor, I will use every means at my disposal to come to your defense and the defense of the Tchula Seven. Blacks and working people throughout the country have a stake in your fight. We must expose this political frame-up and beat back this racist attack.

Your real "crime" was fighting as mayor to improve the lives of working people in Tchula — to provide jobs, to get better housing, and to provide social services for the aged, handicapped, and children. You are on trial for your life because you refused to compromise in this fight. You refused to betray the people who elected you by not accepting a \$10,000 bribe.

Your determined fight against racism and for social justice is an inspiration to working people everywhere.

I pledge my full support to the struggle for your freedom.